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## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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UPCOMING FLN CONGRESS, LOCAL POLITICAL ISSUES DISCUSSED

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 5 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Talhah Jibril: "After the Fifth Congress of the Algerian National Liberation Front: The Decisive Shift from the Algeria of Boumediene to the Algeria of Chadli Benjedid"]

[Text] The process of giving a constitutional coloring to the institutions of government in Algeria was supposed to reach its height in 1978, since it had been decided to hold in that year the first general congress of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) since the 1964 congress. However, the death of former Algerian President Houari Boumediene in December 1978 caused the whole matter to be postponed. The FLN congress held in June 1979 had the task of drawing up the details of the post-Boumediene period in Algeria.

On 7 February 1979, President Chadli Benjedid officially took over the presidency of the republic, after having been the ruling party's only presidential candidate. Algeria entered a new stage which we can call the stage of the pragmatism of the new generation in Algeria.

With regard to the fifth FLN congress, which is supposed to be held on 19 December, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT will review some of the features of the "Algeria of Chadli Benjedid," in order to observe the change and its background in light of this congress, which may consecrate a program which differs from the general guidelines of the Algerian regime.

All those who know the details of the prior life of President Chadli Benjedid say he was a disciplined soldier who played an effective part in the Algerian war of liberation.

It seems that Benjedid's military background helped him a great deal in "his campaign," especially on the level of domestic politics. He was able to fight in favor of his political vision on numerous fronts, but he was a skillful tactician. He never entered a battle without decisively concluding the battle before it. It is interesting that all his battles were fought with lead and gunpowder, but with silencers as well!

## The Struggle With the Radicals

His first confrontation was with the men of the old guard, also known as Boumediene's kitchen cabinet, especially the radicals among them, who were headed by Mohamed Saleh Yahiaoui, the former coordinator of the FLN. In addition to being president of the republic, President Benjedid is also the supreme commander of the armed forces, the chief of the supreme court, the chairman of the Supreme Security Council, the general secretary of the FLN, and the chairman of the central committee. In addition, he chairs the Special Cadre Committee (that is, the cadres who devote themselves entirely to the party) and the Security and Defense Committee, both of which are branches of the central committee. He has the constitutional right to dissolve the National Assembly (the parliament), and to dismiss and form the government.

The Algerian president wanted to put his own stamp on his term. There was no way to avoid the confrontation with the radicals, which was postponed during the first period of his presidency. The radicals' most important symbol was Col Mohamed Saleh Yahiaoui. As a first step, he was removed from his post as party coordinator at the end of 1980. The second step came in July 1981, when he lost his membership in the political office.

One can understand the significance of this step if one considers the background of Col Yahiaoui himself, who wanted to lead the radicals' battle within the FLN.

After Algeria gained its independence in 1963, Yahiaoui was elected a member of the FLN central committee. During that period, he was one of those who was entrusted with reorganizing the FLN so that it would become a ruling party instead of a front fighting for the sake of independence.

After Houari Boumediene's coup against President Ahmed Ben Bella, Yahiaoui joined the Revolutionary Command Council. After that, he held several sensitive military posts, before returning to the FLN in 1977 as an official in charge of the front's agencies. During that period, he gave the party's organizations his own leftist coloration. He constantly called for stronger ties to the socialist camp.

When the emergency congress of the FLN was held in January 1979 to choose the party's candidate for president of the republic, Yahiaoui had to plunge into that battle behind the scenes. At that time, many expected that the matter would be decided in his favor. However, the military institution to which President Benjedid belongs was able to decide things in the end. Benjedid was chosen as an acceptable candidate on the part of the emergency congress.

After that congress, it was natural to conclude that Yahiaoui would lose his offices one by one.

With the exception of some elements abroad (the Socialist Vanguard Party, for example), which amount to an ineffective opposition with no role to play inside the country, Yahiaoui and the leftist elements linked to him represented the "opposition line"--if that's the right expression--with regard to the government's policy. Some observers think that Yahiaoui still possesses political



ambitions, despite his removal from the party. However, these ambitions do not go so far as to challenge the regime's general line. Therefore, it seems that President Benjedid has won his battle with the radicals.

It is worth pointing out that the basic task of Mohamed Cherif Messaadia, who succeeded Yahiaoui in his post, albeit with limited authority, has focused on "purifying" the ranks of the party and the party organizations of radical elements. Although some observers believe that Messaadia is merely a "party bureaucrat," President Benjedid has depended on him entirely in this delicate task.

#### Boumediene's Men

With regard to these people, one can speak about Abdelaziz Bouteflika, whose authority during the era of Boumediene went beyond his office of foreign affairs minister. He was considered a major political decision-maker in the Boumediene era.

Just as happened to Colonel Yahiaoui, Bouteflika lost his offices one by one, until he was recently charged with corruption and squandering some funds.

A month after President Benjedid took office in March 1979, Bouteflika was appointed an advisor. This was an important indication that his star, as the sole engineer of Algerian foreign policy since independence, was sinking. He was the youngest foreign minister in the world when he took over that post in 1963, for he was only 26 years old. He kept that job until March 1979, which is to say for 16 years.

After being appointed an advisor, Bouteflika was not eager to attend the government's meetings. For its part, the other side was not eager to see him attend, either.

In July, when President Benjedid made some changes in the membership of the FLN's political committee, the time had come for Abdelaziz Bouteflika to be removed. It was in the same shake-up, as has been noted above, that Colonel Yahiaoui lost his membership in the political committee.

Despite Bouteflika's fame outside Algeria, especially in the countries of the Third World, as "the fighting diplomat," as the newspapers of the West called him, he really derived his influence from his intimate relationship with former Algerian President Houari Boumediene. Therefore, when Bouteflika was removed from his influential decision-making positions, there were no repercussions inside the country.

#### The Berbers ... and the Islamic Groups

President Chadli Benjedid's battles were not limited to the radicals. Rather, he also had to confront what is known in Algeria as the effort of the "tribesmen" to create for themselves a special cultural identity. This attempt reached the level of confrontation in the "events at Tizi Ouzou."

It may not be quite precise to speak of a "Berber bloc" inside Algeria, since the Berbers are joined only by their language. Moreover, the Berber dialects themselves are different, and vary from tribe to tribe.

However, the biggest interrelated groups are located in the heights of eastern Algeria.

The direct cause for the explosion of the "events at Tizi Ouzou" in the eastern region was the call issued by the students of Tizi Ouzou University during noisy demonstrations to preserve the "cultural identity" of the Berbers. This is an inclusive slogan meaning it is necessary to take care of the Berber-Amazigh language. These demonstrations in April 1980 led to clashes and incidents of violence and trouble with the security forces.

These events took on another dimension when some Algerian intellectuals, including the well-known literary figure "Katib Yasin" were moved to demand that a cultural center be established which would have as one of its objectives the protection and dissemination of Berber culture.

Despite these facts, many might fall into incorrect analyses, believing that these events indicate there is Berber grumbling against the regime, when the events at Tizi Ouzou were not meant in this way at all. This did not prevent some from trying to control these events.

One can say that the demand for a Berber cultural identity has come as a reaction to those who are extremist with regard to the matter of Arabization in general. However, it is important to note that the "Arabizers" themselves have been forced to enter into confrontations in order to improve their situation. Here we recall the famous strike by the Arab language students at the Algerian University in 1979 (they make up 25 percent of the university's student body). They were demanding equal work opportunities. This movement led to about 700 graduating students being hired by the Ministry of Justice. The Algerian president handled these events in a quiet, cautious manner. A party committee was formed to study the matter of cultural policy. In addition, meetings with students and professors in the tribal region were organized to discuss this subject.

#### The Economic Situation

It was stated in the decision to summon the fifth congress of the FLN that the congress would devote itself in a fundamental way to studying "measures which will permit greater control over the course of economic development in the country." Despite the analysis of this expression which can come to mind at first glance, the truth is that a slow process is going on in Algeria, the aim of which is to review all prior economic policies and directions. This is not being done to support the state's hegemony over the economy, but to shake this role to its roots and open the door to investment by the private sector and foreign companies.

Since coming to power, President Chadli Benjedid has been carrying out a fundamental reexamination of the economic orientation which was dominant during the Boumediene era, especially with regard to the policy of heavy industrialization,



which has been afflicted by successive reversals. Thus, this policy in the end became a burden on the Algerian economy.

For his part, President Chadli Benjedid has turned to supporting light industries and industries connected to social services. In addition, he has shown increasing interest in agriculture and the improvement of agricultural production.

When the 5-year plan was drawn up at the 1980 party congress, priority was given to the social services sector, especially to the area of housing, since Algeria's cities are suffering from great crowding. The plan also affirmed the need to encourage the private sector to get into the area of agriculture by means of small farms which would essentially produce vegetables and daily requirements. Algeria is witnessing an alarming rise in the prices of basic foodstuffs.

The plan also affirmed the need to dispense with big industrial projects and turn toward raising the return from the projects which already exist.

Naturally, it is not the case that all the factions approve of this orientation. The technocrats, whose legitimacy was broadened by the heavy industrialization policy, have begun to grumble about the policy of contracting the heavy industry sector. Their power became so "inflated" during the Boumediene era that they drew close to the circle where political decisions are made. In reality, the contradiction created by the heavy industrialization policy seems clear. This sector has failed to absorb Algeria's work force, especially those workers trained in the countries of Western Europe. The latter began to return to Algeria after some countries in Western Europe adopted strict laws. In 1980, according to semi-official statistics, the number of unemployed people in the industrial sector had reached about 10 percent of the qualified workers in this area!

If the number of workers in Algeria is estimated at 4 million, of whom about 25 percent work in the industrial sector, meaning about 1 million workers, then 250,000 of these workers are suffering from unemployment. If we add to these people the disguised unemployment found in the cities, then the number of unemployed might reach half a million workers. This is certainly an uncomfortable number! Although strikes are very limited in the private sector and completely forbidden in the public sector, union activity has intensified in recent years, as a reaction to the inflationary pressures of unemployment in the cities.

In recent years, criticism of the economic policy has increased. The dominant direction has been to call for a reduction in foreign technical assistance, since it is considered responsible for the orientation toward big industrial projects which have a limited ability to absorb local, technically trained workers.

#### The Oil and Gas Sector

Since the oil and gas sector is considered the country's vital sector, on which Algeria's economy depends totally for its hard currency, the Algerian

government has focused on restructuring it and, consequently, controlling it in a different manner which is consistent with the economic orientation of President Benjedid.

In mid-1981, the Algerian government made an important decision. It decided to divide SONATRACH into several companies and departments, or "four main divisions." Thus, this institution began a new stage. At the same time, Algeria officially announced that it intended to renegotiate with its gas-importing customers in Europe and the United States, to whom SONATRACH exported. The Algerian government demanded that its customers accept a doubling of the price of its gas. It entered into difficult and tough negotiations with the importers, some of which are still going on, especially with the United States. In November 1981, the Algerian government reached agreement on prices with the government of France, in addition to signing a long-term agreement with Belgium.

In its negotiations with its importing customers, Algeria has tried during the Benjedid era to link the price of gas with oil prices. At the same time, it has worked to establish an international gas organization similar to OPEC. It has followed an intelligent, tactical policy with respect to contracts and bilateral negotiations for the export of natural gas. However, it has been hit by some reversals, due to the drop in the demand for gas in general. This has caused Algeria's negotiators to soften their positions.

It is clear that the Algerian government has basically been trying to get a good supply of foreign exchange with which to finance the 1980-84 5-year plan. The plan, in turn, aims to widen the expanse of social service projects. This is the cornerstone of President Benjedid's economic policy. However, the fluctuations in the oil and gas market have forced Algeria to lower its output and be less defiant in its demands that the gas price be tied to oil. Consequently, this will have a negative effect on Algeria's development ambitions. It seems clear that this matter will head the list of priorities which the fifth FLN congress will discuss.

With regard to the subject of natural gas in particular, good relations with the United States are important, since the American companies are considered the primary customers for the liquified natural gas Algeria produces. The American company PASO leads the list of companies that deal with Algeria's SONATRACH in this area. At any rate, the magnitude of American-Algerian investment, which amounts to \$4 billion, makes the attainment of an agreement by the two parties a matter of decisive importance.

#### The Fifth Congress and the Orientation of the Future

The statements issued by the Algerian leadership in connection with the fifth FLN congress say that the congress will work to reformulate Algerian policy, both internally and externally. If we give this expression an internal interpretation, then we must conclude that the real beginning (of the Algeria of Benjedid) will come after this congress.

If we review the facts given above about "the role of the opposition and the change in economic policy" that the past stage was one of review with respect to the economy and the confrontation with the regime's critics.

As for the foundations for the future orientation, its modality and its style, they can be described by the following considerations:

President Benjedid has followed Boumediene's style by appointing army officers, who are the regime's mainstay, to sensitive posts in the party and government. Therefore, we shall note that the role of the ruling party in the making of decisions has begun to retreat in favor of administrative technocrats and military men. In this regard, it has been noticed that the role of the FLN's political office has gone from that of a "decision maker" to that of an "advisorial board," although most of the ministers are members of the central committee. Moreover, most of the members of the political office have executive tasks.

One should remember that the emergency congress held in June 1980 cut the membership of the political office from 17 to only 7. That was followed by the removal of Yahiaoui and Bouteflika, whereby harmony was achieved within the supreme leadership council of the party.

With regard to the role of the technocrats, as was mentioned above, the government has been tending to cut back the influence of the bureaucracy and follow a policy of decentralization. This in turn has meant a reduction in the role of the technocrats. In this regard, the Algerian president took a sweeping step last year to limit the influence of the bureaucracy and the hegemony of the technocrats. An anti-corruption campaign disposed of dozens of administrators, ministerial representatives and high officials in government institutions.

The growth of the role of the military technocrats is clearly shown by the accession of Mohamed Ahmed Abdelghani to the prime ministership. He reached the rank of colonel in the army in 1969, and his record is replete with purely military service.

Some observers think that the Benjedid era has seen the military become a "storehouse" supplying the administration with cadres and high administrative employees. Moreover, the presence of Col Abdallah Belhoucet, the chief of staff of the armed forces, at the pinnacle of the pyramid of power is an indication of the influence of the military establishment. In addition to Behoucet, there is Sliman Hoffman, a professional soldier who heads one of the specialized agencies and plays delicate political roles.

The military establishment took part in the green-belt forest program and built some model villages.

In view of all this, it will seem logical for the Algerian president to depend on the role of the military establishment in his attempt to "reformulate Algerian policy, internally and externally" after the fifth congress.

President Chadli Benjedid was able to control the emergency congress of the FLN held in June 1980 well. That congress constituted "an extra edge for reinforcing one's positions."

In the period between the emergency congress and the fifth congress, which is to be held on 19 December, Benjedid has been able to program a realistic policy,

without ridding himself of Boumediene's program. After having reinforced his authority by gradually challenging those opposed to him, the Algerian president has turned to a "relative economic liberalism." One of the signs of this liberalism has been the return to the private sector.

This liberalism has affected sensitive areas. Some in Algeria have begun to mutter about the government's intention to diversify the sources of weaponry. Since independence, Algeria has depended on the Soviets in this area.

Despite all this, the "reformulation" which has been made the slogan of the next stage might require a high degree of skillfulness in order to be executed since the matter is tied up with a whole set of new orientations on all levels. First of all, the defiance of the opposition factions inside and outside the channels of power must be bridled. Second of all, a positive return must be obtained with regard to the open economic policy. The cornerstone of that is the success of the 1980-84 5-year plan, which is supposed to counteract the negative effects of the policy of heavy industrialization. Equally crucial are expanding social services, dealing with the problem of unemployment, and creating the desired harmony within the ruling elite concerning "Benjedid's pragmatism."

The future orientation of Algerian policy, which is expected to be affirmed by the fifth congress, can be summed up as follows:

Controlling the radical and extremist elements, trying quickly to give the Algerian economy a liberal coloring, reinforcing and establishing set positions for political decision-making, and concentrating internally on dealing with the urgent issues. At any rate, the discussions of the fifth FLN congress will not deviate from these main themes.

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# MDS PRINCIPLES, PROGRAM STATED

## Mestiri Reaffirms MDS Faith in Democracy

Tunis L'AVENIR in French No 31, Nov 83 p 5

[Editorial by Mahmoud Mestiri: "The Essential and the Secondary"]

[Text] The National Council of the MDS [Movement of Socialist Democrats] met on 15 October to discuss the life of the movement and evaluate its activities. Its major decision was to call the first MDS National Congress for 16-18 December. That decision is of extreme importance for several reasons.

First of all, it is in keeping with our convictions. The defense of pluralism does not consist merely of shouting a slogan. It must take the form of action consonant with political realities existing in the nation. We created the MDS in June 1978 under difficult political conditions marked by the repression which followed the events of 26 January. Patiently, stone by stone, we built the structure. In so doing we were the first, since the country's independence to create, legally, an opposition party. We also paved the way for other groups, which did not fail to organize in their turn. Pluralism is today a reality, even if--and indeed the more so because--the present political regime refuses to legalize that reality. It is by increasingly asserting themselves on the political scene that opposition groups will ultimately impose pluralism. Our movement exists through its local, regional, and national structures. It expresses itself through two press organs, and does not fail to give its viewpoint on the essentials of the country's problems. By inviting it to participate in the legislative elections of 1981, the government made a de facto admission of the importance of the MDS on the national scene. And, by falsifying the results of those elections, it proved the credibility of our movement before public opinion and the voters. Moreover, the MDS sends its representatives to brother and friendly parties, and receives their delegates. Representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to Tunis--and not the least among them--visit us in our offices and are attentive to our positions. It is in the climate of that reality that our first National Congress will be held.

The holding of this congress accords, moreover, with the logic of our action. The MDS is a democratic party. Having set up its basic structures and reg-

ularly convened its National Councils and Executive Councils, it was obligated to complete the structure. The MDS political bureau considers that democratic legitimacy must now succeed that of the founders. It also devolves on the representatives of our militants to specify our choices, to better define the paths and the ways and means of our action, and to elect a national directorate for the movement. For us, democracy is as much a choice of society as a day to day practice. Here again we consider it the duty of the MDS to prove to its militants and to opinion that its actions are in accord with its professions of faith. Moreover, the MDS has constantly revealed itself publicly, and has always rejected the methods of clandestine action. So it is natural that its congress should be held in the full light of day, and it should so assume its responsibilities to the people and to history.

By its presence on the political scene and by its impact, the MDS disturbs a good many people, both within and without the circles of power. For that reason it is exposed to campaigns of suspicion and disparagement.

Those campaigns do not trouble us, for they indicate our movement enjoys a privileged position on the national and Arab scenes. That is because as patriots we fight for establishment of a comprehensive and deeply rooted democratic regime in Tunisia which will not limit itself to instituting democracy within organizations, but will also implant it in daily behavior.

#### General Motion's Text of MDS National Council

Tunis L'AVENIR in French No 31, Nov 83 pp 8-11

Text On the day after this issue went to press the MDS National Council held its 15 October session. It followed that of 11 and 12 June 1983, which decided the first national congress of the movement would be held before the end of the year.

That was the most important decision of this national council, whose agenda included:

1. The report of the movement's political bureau, which was presented by the secretary general and discussed by participants;
2. The present position of the movement, its structures and activities;
3. Discussion of proposed by-laws;
4. The position of the MDS organs AL-MUSTAQBAL (Arabic) and L'AVENIR (French);
5. Motions and recommendations.

The council, which proceeded in a wholesome and democratic atmosphere, adopted two motions at the conclusion of its session, one general, and one internal on the occasion of the movement's fifth anniversary.

Here follows, in translation, the text of the general motion:

The expanded National Council of the MDS met 11 and 12 June (29 Shacban-1 Ramadan), attended by delegates of the various regional and national organizations of the movement.

Brother Ahmed Mestri, secretary general of the movement, opened the council session with a statement on behalf of the political bureau recalling the various stages traversed by our movement since its founding on 10 June 1978. Stressing the gains and outreach of our movement both within the country and abroad, the secretary general called on militants to redouble their efforts to develop the audience for our organization in public opinion, and to reinforce its structures in every domain and at every level.

The secretary general also recalled the situation in the Maghreb, in the Arab world, and more generally on the international scene.

Regarding the situation in our country, he stressed the persistence--despite certain contrary appearances--of a crisis situation whose mastery requires the application of radical and comprehensive solutions, as well as active participation in public life by the whole body of citizens, above and beyond their particular ideological and political affiliations.

Within the context of this national council session, participants debated various aspects of the secretary general's report, as well as the proposed by-laws for the movement which had been submitted to them.

Thus in the course of this council's debates the emphasis was placed on ways and means of developing the structures and activities of our movement so as to strengthen its impact in all fields.

At the conclusion of their session, participants in the national council adopted the following resolutions:

At the Tunisian National Level:

Despite appearances, the country is going through a many-faceted crisis which grows daily in gravity, and which is particularly marked by the following aspects:

A-Political Aspects:

1. Lack of a general amnesty law, at a time when this is becoming an imperative popular demand. The country is thus deprived of many persons of national competence, and of militant and creative forces;



2. Continued holding of many citizens under detention, and current proceedings against others by reason of their opinions and political activities, with MTI [expansion unknown] militants as special targets;

3. Failure to give substance to political pluralism, though it has been announced many times. This shortcoming constitutes an obstacle to the free exercise by Tunisian citizens of their fundamental right of political activity within a legal framework compatible with the interests of the nation, with its development, and with the principles decreed by its constitution.

In that connection, the participants stressed the unfortunate consequences which would result from any delay or hesitation in the matter.

Appreciably undermined as it already is by many past practices, the credibility of the regime might indeed be severely affected thereby.

And that could only further damage the political climate, inevitably encouraging the development of practices and methods which could jeopardize the very foundations of our society, insofar as they ran counter to its political and historic traditions.

Those taking part in the expanded MDS national council considered that those various negative factors, which now weigh on the life of the country, have brought about two grave phenomena which are indicative of the extent of the crisis now experienced by Tunisian society:

1. The growing lack of mass confidence in the regime;
2. The feeling of uncertainty as to the future which dominates public opinion, particularly among the younger generations.

At the root of that feeling are the confusion and contradictory practices which mark our daily lives; and the feeling is reinforced, moreover, by the passivity to which citizens are constrained.

For citizens of all ages are indeed deprived of the means which would allow them to contribute effectively to planning and deciding their future.

#### B-Economic, Social, and Cultural Aspects

In these fields, council participants highlighted the following elements:

1. The lack of clarity in the scientific orientations of the regime, and the dangers presented by certain of its choices:

This situation has favored the service sectors of the economy, and parasitic activities with foreign connections, to the detriment of the potential of a national capital which consequently has been unable to play the effective role it should have played in economic development;

2. The decline in production and erosion of productivity in the economy as a whole. These are factors of concern, whose causes were recalled:

a. The feeling of exploitation and frustration which prevails among workers;

b. The sagging of capital investment, and its poor utilization in nonproductive sectors not in accord with the national interest, together with the negative effects of an unjust tax policy;

3. The ambiguity of the political climate, which brings about a feeling of malaise, insecurity, and lack of confidence in the future;

4. The difficulty of attaining plan objectives, particularly because of the undemocratic manner of the plan's development, and because of choices which do not meet the essential aspirations and needs of the masses;

5. The persistent precariousness of purchasing power of the majority of people, which remains below real needs, despite recommended price control measures and considerable efforts by the UGTT /Tunisian General Federation of Labor/ to reach agreements on collective bargaining, status, and pay with employers;

6. The worsening of unemployment, particularly among educated youth, and the inability of public authorities to contain that social scourge;

7. The multiplication of ills affecting economic and social activities, particularly favoritism, administrative negligence, poor management, corruption, and the precedence given to particular and selfish interests to the detriment of the general interest;

8. The troubling increase in foreign debt;

9. The lack of interest taken in agriculture, a sector which should enjoy a choice position as the fundamental and strategic pole of the country's development. The slight measure of interest shown in this sector perpetuates the food shortage, and thereby accentuates the dependence of our economy;

10. The persistence of regional imbalances, despite manifold official declarations of intent and completion of a few projects put forward for propaganda reasons;

11. The contradictions in emigration policy. After having by every possible means favored emigration of Tunisian workers from our country, the authorities are showing themselves negligent in the matter of protecting those workers and their families from the dangers to which they are exposed, as regards both their moral rights and their identity.

The measures planned to facilitate the return of that emigrant labor, moreover, prove to be manifestly insufficient insofar as they do not proceed

from a coherent and planned vision which could permit those workers to contribute to the consolidation of the national economy;

12. The failure of the educational policy, as illustrated particularly by the precariousness of employment guarantees for graduates, the extent of professional difficulties faced by teachers, and the incapacity of the educational system to accomplish in a rational manner the mission which should devolve on it in relation to our heritage of culture and civilization;

13. The feeling of confusion and uncertainty among youth, which brings about an ever widening rift with the regime and accentuates attitudes of refusal, recourse to violence, and deterioration of behavior, thus depriving the nation of its live and creative forces;

14. The absence of an overall cultural vision capable of breaking away from the ostracism of the party in power, of reviving patriotic sentiment, and of embodying the Arab-Moslem roots of our nation.

Pursuant to those ideas, the council considered that setting up a second French-speaking television channel would run the risk of bringing about increased cultural dependence.

Accentuation of these enumerated phenomena would have the effect of worsening the crisis and exposing the country to fearful convulsions.

#### At the Arab National Level

Participants in the national council reviewed official initiatives in the context of building the Maghreb, as well as the situation which prevails in the Arab world, marked as it is by the threats and obstacles faced by the Palestinian revolution.

#### 1. The Arab Maghreb

a. The concept of the Arab Maghreb responds to militant aspiration rooted in our national history;

b. That aspiration is part of an overall vision which sees the Arab Maghreb as a step along the path to the unity of the Arab nation;

c. While taking positive note of progress made in Tunisian-Algerian relations, and of the strengthening of brotherly ties linking the two countries, the council stressed the need to broaden the scope of that understanding to include all countries of the greater Arab Maghreb. It likewise called for resolution of existing difficulties and problems within the context of a policy which should take into consideration the imperatives of national development, as well as aspirations to Maghrebian unity and the safeguarding of the destined Arab community;

d. The need to promote building of the Maghreb on viable political and economic bases not subject to the hazards of events or to changes of political authority;

e. Strengthening of relations between progressive parties and organizations so as to participate in building the Maghreb by means of democratically elected institutions, which are alone capable of guaranteeing its stability and permanence in a perspective of Arab unity.

## 2. The Arab Situation

Participants stressed the growing gravity of the situation in the Arab world as exemplified particularly by:

Inter-Arab contradictions and divisions;

Incapacity to achieve an integrated national Arab development;

Incapacity to face the Zionist and imperialist enemy, and a succession of initiatives marked by improvisation, collusion, and a spirit of surrender;

Hegemony of political regimes cut off from their peoples and practicing policies of repression and even terrorism which flout public and individual liberties as well as the most fundamental human rights.

The results are that:

a. The masses are set apart from decision-making authority;

b. The Zionist enemy increases its domination of the region by imposing "agreements" contrary to Arab interests;

c. The hegemonic presence of foreign forces, from both West and East, is strengthened, and they actively pursue their actions with a view to attaining their own ends, while profiting from the passivity and lethargy which gnaw at the Arab body politic.

A crushing example of this is found in the plots fomented against the Palestinian revolution, for it is obvious that the threats which gravely jeopardize the present and future of that revolution are due in large part to Arab behavior and collusion.

In consequence, the national council calls for:

Necessary support for the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the valiant Palestinian people;

Vigilance against any action threatening the PLO at this delicate stage of the Palestinian question, for such action could profit only the Zionist enemy and its principal and faithful ally, American imperialism;

Denunciation of the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, which gravely compromises the sovereignty and the Arab character of Lebanon, and which is fraught with perils to the Palestinian question, to the future of the Arab nation, and to that of the Islamic community;



Support for the determined struggle being waged against the Zionist occupation. The council, which salutes the liberation fighters, exerts all partisans of the cause of Arab nationhood, in the name of our authenticity, to sustain that popular struggle.

For it indeed constitutes the symbol of the will of Arab man to refuse submission, in the face of the spirit of surrender and defeatism which marks the regimes in power, whose conduct scorns the dignity of the Arab citizen and threatens to jeopardize the culture and the very existence of Arab man.

The council has in consequence determined that our support should go to any action aimed at strengthening the collective Arab effort and intensifying the struggle against the enemy and its imperialist allies.

In conclusion, the national council of the MDS strongly highlighted the complexity of the crisis confronting Tunisia today, as well as the deep overlapping of elements constituting that crisis. That realization enjoins us to avoid partial solutions of the moment and superficial spot patching, in order to orient ourselves toward choices of radical and comprehensive solutions in all sectors of economic, social, and political life.

The council thus renewed its call for:

Improvement of the political climate and promulgation of a general amnesty law;

Fundamental review of economic and social choices, and adoption of a socialist option in conformity with conditions existing in the country, and free of all constraints and bureaucratic excesses.

Such an option is alone capable of limiting the effects of dependence and safeguarding our national independence. It is also suited to putting an end to regional imbalances, and to raising the moral tone of public life by eradicating the evils which hamper our development, and of which regionalism, favoritism, and corruption are dangerous manifestations;

Repeal of unconstitutional laws such as the press code and the statute on associations;

Legal embodiment of political pluralism, which would respond to an undeniable popular aspiration. This pluralist option is not only an end in itself, for it also provides the means to allow Tunisian citizens to transcend the divisions of their political affiliations and to take part actively and responsibly in determining the paths of their future;

Struggle against all aspects of deterioration in manners and customs, and against their underlying social causes, as well as vigilance against the effects of the intellectual and ideological crisis faced by our society, whose Arab-Moslem roots must be strengthened, for assertion of that identity positively contributes to placing our choice of civilization in a contemporary world context.

Finally, council participants reaffirmed the will of our movement's militants to pursue their determined action to attain the following objectives:

Promote the democratic alternative at all levels of daily activity;

Put an end to all forms of exploitation or domination in the economic and social spheres;

Reconcile the safeguarding of Tunisia's Arab and Moslem authenticity with our will to creative evolution and innovation so that our people may better take its present in hand and fully control its future.

#### /PCT-MDS Meeting

/On 27 September a meeting was held at PCT [Tunisian Communist Party] headquarters between a PCT delegation consisting of MM Mohamed Harmel, Hichem Skik and Boujemaa Rmili, and an MDS delegation including MM Ahmed Mestiri, Dali Jazi, and Ismail Boulahia.

During the meeting participants reviewed the general situation of the country, the difficulties encountered by the opposition, and the various obstacles to the exercise of civil liberties.

They also expressed their concern in the matter of continuing political trials and imprisonment of Islamic militants condemned for their political opinions and activities.

Finally, they debated the question of relations between the two parties./

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CSO: 4519/21

## JEWISH 'UNDERGROUND' OPERATING AGAINST ARABS

TA121023 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 12 Dec 83 p 9

[Report by Gad Li'or]

[Excerpts] A Jewish underground has been operating in Jerusalem for some weeks against the non-Jewish population in the city. This underground is also responsible for the seven booby-trapped grenades planted in the last 48 hours near non-Jewish religious institutions and in the center of East Jerusalem. This is the assessment of security elements participating in the investigation of the recent acts of harassment against the non-Jewish population in the capital.

Several incidents were registered by the police several weeks ago which gave rise to suspicions that a certain underground group is active in the capital whose purpose is to harm and harass Arabs and their property. However, at that time, there was still no certainty that those isolated incidents had been perpetrated by members of the same group. The incidents mainly involved the shattering of windows of Arab-owned shops, setting cars on fire, assaulting two Arabs and so on.

However, ever since last Thursday night and during the subsequent 48 hours when the number of incidents increased, the suspicions of police investigators were established that a mysterious Jewish underground was definitely involved in the last acts of harassment.

A Jewish underground group which called itself "Terror Against Terror" (or T.N.T.) operated several times in Jerusalem. Attempted assaults on Arabs, including acts of sabotage and operations against Arab inhabitants in Jerusalem, were at that time attributed to this group. Some members of this group were located and even brought to trial. Last Friday, an unidentified person called the media and claimed that the same group, "Terror Against Terror," was also responsible [word indistinct] for the fires and the grenades. Is that so?

Veteran police investigators who are vigorously looking into the latest incidents in Jerusalem hardly doubt now that this is the case. "They may not be the same members of the then 'Terror Against Terror.'" However, there is hardly any doubt that the investigation must focus on the possibility that a Jewish underground is once again active in Jerusalem. In addition to our concern for the well-being of the non-Jewish inhabitants of the city, such activities might lead to an escalation of tension in relations between Jews, Muslims and Christians in Jerusalem. Therefore, it is imperative to uncover the perpetrators of the recent operation," a senior police officer involved in the investigation told me.



## BRIEFS

FRUIT EXPORTS TO EGYPT--Rashad al-Shawwa, former mayor of Gaza, recently returned from Egypt bringing with him a signed agreement for the export of citrus fruit from the Gaza Strip to Egypt. Since 1967 Egypt has adamantly refused to accept citrus fruit from Gaza, despite major efforts by local dignitaries and merchants. Although these imports are not handled by a government department, but by a commercial company, the deal would not have gone through if the authorities had not given their consent. It is difficult to determine the reasons for this turnabout by Egypt, unless it was prompted by a decision to encourage the sympathies of some of the political elements in the Gaza Strip and strengthen pro-Egyptian orientation. The Gaza Strip exports some 180,000 tons of citrus fruit to East European countries and to Jordan via the bridges, and from there to other countries. [Rafi Ga'on] [TA131015 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Dec 83 p 4]

EXPORT DROP CONTINUES--The drop in exports is continuing. Last month exports were down 11 percent over the previous November. From the beginning of 1983 exports dropped by 3 percent. A particularly large drop was noted in November in the exports of metal and electronics and our correspondent Me'ir Einstein comments that this originates in a decrease in defense-related exports. [Text] [TA072030 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 7 Dec 83 TA]

CSO: 4400/93

OBJECTIVES OF OVERSEAS OIL EXPLORATION COMPANY OUTLINED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 1 Sep 83 p 11

Article: "'Abd-al-Razzaq Mala Husayn Reviews the activities Of the Kuwaiti Overseas Petroleum Exploration Corporation KOPEC; 'We Are Working To Diversify the National Income With Our Petroleum Exploration In China, Sicily, Turkey, Indonesia, Tanzania, Ireland and Elsewhere'"

Text In his first meeting with journalists KOPEC's chairman of the board 'Abd-al-Razzaq Mala Husayn yesterday discussed the company's plans, projects and goals on the occasion of the publication of the young company's first annual report for 1981-82.

Mr Mala Husayn started off his discussion about the company, which he described as "Kuwait's arm outside Kuwait," saying that this company was wholly owned by the Kuwaiti Petroleum Corporation. It is an arm of the corporation which specializes in exploratory operations outside the State of Kuwait. He noted the great importance of the Kuwait Oil Company which is in charge of the task of exploration and production within Kuwait. He mentioned the Santa Fe group of companies, which serve the petroleum corporation with their specialization in exploration operations for the purpose of production. KOPEC's operations usually involve the operations of one of the companies of the Santa Fe group, which is also wholly owned by Kuwait.

Diversifying the Sources Of National Income

'Abd-al-Razzaq Mala Husayn said that KOPEC's broad goal is to diversify the sources of national income for the petroleum company, and thereby for Kuwait, in order to profit by creating a balanced portfolio with investments in various areas.

He said that the company relies on Kuwaiti technical experts, and is proud of the fact that they are at a world-class level. Diversification of overseas investments is nothing more than relying on these experts.

In reviewing the company's activities Mala Husayn said that it is focusing on the developing and third world countries which have not had large-scale geographic explorations, since most effort has been concentrated on exploratory excavation in the advanced countries. He said that according to statistics

four-fifths of the world's drilling equipment is in the United States and Canada, and the remaining one-fifth is distributed over the rest of the world.

He said that the advanced countries concentrate their capabilities on strategic goals to obtain resources. We, on the other hand, are seeking to intensify exploration in our developing and Third World countries.

#### An Opportunity For Competition

He added, "As far as capital is concerned, we believe that the countries in which we are operating have an urgent need for capital, due to population growth and lower prices for the raw materials they produce. These factors have produced a deficit in their balance of payments. This calls for intensified efforts to search for energy. At the political level we are focusing on the Arab and Islamic countries."

He added, "There are additional factors. Some developing countries have suffered as a result of the past practices of the big companies, causing them to establish national companies whose task would be to supervise and participate with the foreign investor. We believe that this presents our company with an opportunity for competition, particularly in view of the fact that we are one of the developing countries. Moreover, we have capabilities, capital and expertise in drilling, exploration and support services. Our engineering ability also qualifies us for the exploration phase and subsequent stages, and offers us opportunities for success in our negotiations with the host countries."

He continued, "The company has faced a truly big challenge. It has had a flood of offers for participation which it has had to study in order to design its investment plan and to overcome this challenge on the most solid principles."

He pointed out that the company is active in Morocco, the Sudan, Oman, Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, Tanzania, the Congo, Sicily, Ireland, China and Australia. Explorations in Bahrain, Tunisia and Pakistan are at an advanced stage. We are now studying various offers.

Mala Husayn denied that there the company is battling with the monopolistic international companies for such activities. He said, "We are not alarmed. Our methods and our expertise place us in the ranks of world-class companies. In fact, we have worked with big companies on joint projects in Indonesia, and we have worked with the Gulf Oil Company. We have also worked with Americans and Japanese."

On the subject of the conditions and security of Kuwaiti investments in exploration in the developing countries, which are always politically unstable and resent the company, he said that there would be no recurrence of the conditions that prevailed in an earlier period. Today we do not speak about concessions such as those in our regions 30 to 40 years ago. There is general awareness today, and we are going to work in various places in accordance with

the prevailing conditions in the world. This is, for the most part, satisfactory to the host nations. There are no longer any host nations which offer easy terms in such a way so as to safeguard against potential conflicts. But at the same time there is no place in the world with a 100 percent guarantee that nationalization will not take place. This is, after all, a right of sovereign states. There is also another positive factor, participation, which is the prevailing characteristic.

Mala Husayn denied that the company needed to increase the number of skilled individuals in its employee pool or its management. He said that there are currently enough, and that the company's board of directors consisted entirely of technicians and specialists.

'Abd-al-Razzaq Mala Husayn concluded as follows: "Our work in the developing countries and the countries of the Third World benefits those countries more than it does us, the foreign investor."

#### The Annual Report

The company's first annual report reviewed its activities during the aforementioned period. It explained that a trained administrative team had been assembled in Kuwait and London, and that the Kuwaiti Petroleum Corporation's exploration portfolio had been absorbed. Work has begun on devising a new investment program in the field of oil and gas exploration. Since its establishment, the company's new investment program has not been inconsequential. Among its more significant projects have been the following: obtaining a 33 percent share of rights to explore in Indonesia in cooperation with the Sumatra Gulf Oil Corporation and the Pertamina Corporation; obtaining a 29.43 percent shares of the International Company For Energy Development (bv) which is focusing its exploratory activities in Third World countries, and holds rights to explore in the Gulf of Suez, Sudan, Tanzania, the Congo, the Sultanate of Oman and Turkey.

The company has also obtained direct participation in both Oman and the Sudan by purchasing a portion of the rights and interests of the International Company For Energy Development (bv) in both countries. Along with 32 other international companies the company has participated in financing a seismic survey operation in the Yellow Sea in China. As a result of this survey it was determined that the project would be unprofitable because it would not produce sufficient income to cover the risks it entailed.

The report reviewed the development of the company's administrative structure. There were 54 employees at the end of last December. The company has a branch in London where it evaluates new projects, offers technical consulting services and supervises oil holdings. This branch has studied about 150 proposals for participation in exploration activities which the company has received since it was founded in 1982. The company has succeeded in establishing strong relations in the petroleum industry, and with its sister companies owned by the Kuwaiti Petroleum Corporation, and particularly with the Kuwait Oil Company and the Santa Fe Minerals Corporation.

The company's main office in Kuwait formulates policies and makes decisions relating to all the company's activities.

Regarding the company's future activity the report said that negotiations have begun with several countries to obtain concessions. For the first time the company intends to become actively involved, as well as being an investment partner. This direction represents a giant step in the company's progress and in strengthening its position and its international reputation as a world-class company engaged in oil and gas exploration and production. In its 1983 budget sums were allocated for participation in several new exploration projects. Investment will exceed 1982 levels.

The company's annual report said the following about financial considerations: "Progress in any oil exploration project usually requires a long time. It is therefore not unusual to find that oil exploration companies do not achieve any profits during their first few years. Despite that, the company was able to realize a profit during its first fiscal year. This was because it was able to successfully manage and invest its capital in an exemplary manner."

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CSO: 4404/15



# NEED FOR STRINGENT CONTROLS OVER MONEY CHANGERS EMPHASIZED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 4 Sep 83 p 11

[Article by Muhammad al-Shayti: "In the Aftermath Of 'Suq Al-Manakh'-- Customers In Kuwait's Currency Market Are the Latest Victims, Due To the Absence Of Controls, Laws and Sound Business Principles"]

[Text] Money changers are carrying out their business like vegetable sellers. They add a margin of profit on their purchase price and do not react to developments.

The currency exchange market in Kuwait is experiencing the same state of affairs the "Suq al-Manakh" had with regard to the absence of regulatory control and laws. There has been general chaos in this market, and several attempts by local newspapers to interview or meet with Central Bank officials to gain a clearer picture have been unsuccessful. They have slipped through the door of the free economy.

But in reality a free economy does not mean chaos and monopoly so much as it means opening up opportunities for competition and opportunities for the private sector to pursue its responsibilities in accordance with specific principles and rules which ultimately are in the national interest.

Even in the western countries which consider themselves the bastion of free economy and capitalism, free economy has not meant simply the existence of a field for chaos. What is currently happening to us in Kuwait is that the customers have been the victim of outright fraud.

The customer has, for the most part, been forced to buy currency at inflated prices. The Central Bank does not intervene in the activities of money changers and financial companies. Its role is limited to issuing a bulletin stating the official prices for interbank currency exchange.

## Regulating Currency Exchange

In the meantime it is feared that the Kuwaiti dinar has lost some of its value due to the fact that it has been overtaken by many other currencies, which it is assumed are in decline in the face of a strong dollar. A strong dollar also means a stronger Kuwaiti dinar, which is covered by petrodollars,

by huge dollar reserves, by investments in the United States with their huge annual income, which is also in strong dollars. The currency dealers seem to be the ones who are responsible for the decline in the dinar's artificial value.

At this point let us pause to ask why there has been no regulation of currency exchange activities in the currency exchange market and other financial companies which are engaged in currency exchange.

To reassure the citizens somewhat, small differences and fluctuations in currency prices on a daily basis are inevitable. However, advertisements which are carried by the newspapers each morning are as far from reality as they could be, and by a substantial amount. Certain money changing companies engage in clearly fraudulent and deceptive activity by advertising false prices for various currencies in order to lure customers. When the citizen or the customer asks those companies to honor their prices advertised in the newspapers he is rudely told, "Go buy from those newspapers." Who is responsible for that expression, which is directed daily to dozens of citizens, and for the material loss they suffer?

#### Regulatory Laws

Central Bank officials say that the task of supervising the activities of the money changing business belongs to the Ministry of Trade, which by its nature does nothing more than issue and renew permits whenever necessary.

In short, what is necessary is to assign the tasks of regulation, supervision and investigation, and the enactment of regulatory laws and decisions to a single specific agency, instead of that useless division between the Central Bank and the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which does not have a cadre specialized in supervising and monitoring financial affairs.

In any other country the currency exchange market, for example, is subject to certain regulations, and reflects the true value of the currencies in international markets. If the price of a particular currency falls in the international financial markets then the local currency dealers must translate this drop into an immediate fact. That is not what now happens here. In Kuwait, the currency exchange market is dominated by a few wholesale dealers who control it, while most proprietors of currency exchange shops implement this policy without realizing it when they sell currencies in a manner that disgraces the profession. They buy the currencies at such and such a price and add on such and such a percentage of profit. This is the way they are accustomed to sell their goods. If the price of one currency in the international financial markets should happen to fall, these money changers are the last ones to know. Completely unaware of that, they continue to carry on their business selling what they have to others at the price at which they bought it plus a profit margin added on, which they would not even consider forgoing. After exhausting their supply and turning once again to the wholesalers to buy new supplies and currencies, the particular currency might have risen again or recovered some of the value it had lost. In that case, the wholesale dealers again sell to the money changers at the same prices. If



there had been a change, and the currency's value continued to drop, this drop would have no effect on the price we would have to pay until much later. In short, we are isolated from developments in the international financial markets. The citizen is entitled to know about such developments, and this right should be guaranteed by the concerned financial authorities. The wholesale currency dealers in Kuwait attain just about the highest margin of profit possible by keeping the market ignorant of any drop in prices, while they are instantly prepared to contact the money changers and inform them about any sudden rise in the price of a particular currency.

This method of doing business in Kuwait's currency exchange market, together with the absence of regulation and administrative supervision which would provide safety and security as well as schedules for doing business during specified hours, and would provide the appropriate state control, is harming Kuwait's progress because in this market the money changing profession is marked by unsatisfactory performance and exploitation.

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## BRIEFS

**TREASURY BILLS**--New 18-month Treasury Bills issued by Lebanon's Central Bank last weekend for the first time are seen by bank officials as both a test of the market and an expression of confidence in the future of the economy. While three-, six- and 12-month Bills have been in circulation for some time, the 18-month Bill is the longest maturing paper ever issued by the Ministry of Finance. It carries a nominal rate of interest of 12.90 per cent, but--like other Bills--interest is paid in advance, bringing the effective interest rate to 14.15 per cent. If the Bill is well subscribed, Finance Ministry officials may further diversify the market by offering longer-term maturities. A Treasury Bill designed specifically for public--as opposed to institutional--subscription is also expected, although present political circumstances are regarded as inappropriate for its introduction until well into the new year. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 47, 21 Nov 83 p 8]

**TRIPOLI REFINERY DAMAGE EXTENSIVE**--The oil refinery at Tripoli in northern Lebanon has suffered an estimated LL 500 million (\$100 million) of war damage during recent fighting between supporters and opponents of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. Raymond Roufayel, Director-General of the Ministry of Industry and Petroleum, said that this estimate did not include lost production. Mr Roufayel said that shelling had destroyed 7 giant storage tanks for crude oil, 7 for gasoline, 4 for fuel oil, 5 for gasoil, one for jet-fuel and three for liquefied gas. In all, 27 of the refinery's 35 tanks have been set on fire, force, but he estimated this proportion would be down to 40 per cent by the end of the decade. The minister was commenting on Indian fears that, as oil revenues delined, oil-exporting countries would cut back on their labour requirements for development projects. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 47, 21 Nov 83 pp 10-11]

**LOAN FOR BAHRAIN AIRPORT**--The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development has agreed to lend Bahrain Kuwaiti Dinars 9.5 million (\$32.62 million) to help finance expansion of the island's international airport. The project is due to be completed in 1986 at an overall cost of \$147 million and it involves the reclamation of land to extend the airport's runway as well as construction of an additional parking apron and the expansion of existing buildings. The loan agreement was signed in Kuwait last week by KFAED Director General Faisal Abdulrazak al-Khaled and Ibrahim Abdul Karim, Bahrain's Minister of Finance and National Economy. The loan is repayable over 20 years with a grace period of five years and with annual interest of 3.5 per cent. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 47, 21 Nov 83 p 10]

NORTH SEA OIL--Kuwait is increasing its stake in Britain's North Sea oilfields by acquiring an 8.4 per cent shareholding in an exploration block off the northeast coast of Scotland, according to the OPEC news agency last week. The report from London said conditional agreement had been reached on the \$7 million purchase from Berkely Exploration and Production. The agreement is conditional upon approval by Britain's Department of Energy. The latest acquisition provides further proof if that were needed of Kuwait's determination to transform KPC into an international integrated oil company of major stature. Most of KPC's recent purchases have been relatively small, but each is clearly part of a pattern that is beginning to take on a clearly recognisable shape. Acting on behalf of the Kuwait Petroleum Corporation in the deal is Santa Fe Minerals, a subsidiary of Santa Fe International, an American oil exploration and engineering group which KPC took over in 1981. The block in which Santa Fe Minerals is taking an interest is close to the North Sea's existing Andrew and Maureen oilfields. Another Santa Fe subsidiary, Transocean Oil (UK) already holds 3.33 per cent of shares in the block. The exploration licence is held by a group headed by Gulf Oil Corporation. The deal is the second stake to be acquired by KPC in North Sea oil exploration this year. In August, Santa Fe Minerals paid \$4.4 million for half of the share of Britain's Saxon Oil in its exploration licence for a block close to an earlier promising find. In addition, Santa Fe already has a substantial share in North Sea oil production through its holdings in the Thistle field. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 47, 21 Nov 83 p 12]

CSO: 4400/85

CITIZENS CALLED TO MODERATE CONSUMPTION OF WATER, ELECTRICITY

Doha AL-'ARAB in Arabic 9 Oct 83 p 4

[Article: "The Minister of Electricity and Water Calls for Guiding Consumption"]

[Text] His Excellency Shaykh Jasim bin Muhammad 'Al Thani, the minister of electricity and water, has confirmed that the state is paying huge sums to provide the citizens with necessary services like electricity and water, since it considers them essential things to which it devotes great attention, at a cost of millions of riyals.

In an exclusive interview with the Qatari news agency, His Excellency said that the state's provision of these essential services, consumption of which had to be guided, demanded that the citizens themselves participate with the state in limiting the consumption of electrical energy and the wasteful consumption of water. These resources ought to be used only as necessary, to enable the state to progress with its development-oriented services in this area.

His Excellency, the minister of electricity and water, pointed to the support and interest which the ministry receives from His Highness Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad 'Al Thani, the country's leader, who closely follows the implementation of electricity and water projects, since he is eager to provide services to the citizens in the villages and the outlying areas and to insure enough electricity for the various industries which are taking part in developing the country.

His Excellency Shaykh Jasim bin Muhammad 'Al Thani reviewed the achievements which the ministry has realized. He pointed out that the installation of four turbine generators worth 288 million Qatari riyals had recently been completed. They were placed in different parts of Doha's suburbs. They are providing the present electricity network with the capacity it needs to meet the expected demand.

He said that four additional water purification units had been installed, which will help to raise the productive capacity for drinking water by 20 million gallons a day.

His Excellency added that the state of Qatar currently has the largest two electricity generating stations. One is at Ra's Abu 'Abud and has a productive capacity of up to 310 megawatts. The other is at Abu Fintas, and its capacity is 618 megawatts. In addition, 13 power stations and 45 transformers have been set up. He said we now have 2115 electrical distribution transformers.

In addition, he pointed out that the 132 kilovolt high-tension lines currently in service are now 291.4 kilometers long, and that 88 kilometers of lines are under construction.

As for the 66 kilovolt lines, there are 249.7 kilometers of them in service, and 8.4 kilometers under construction.

His Excellency the Minister of Electricity and Water added that the high-tension underground cables now in service have reached 1684.6 kilometers in length, with 198.4 kilometers of this kind of cable under construction.

As for street lights, there are 8,975 light poles now in service, each with four arms. In addition, there are 201 electrical towers in service, with 57 under construction.

He indicated that the number of electricity consumers had reached 60,107 during 1982, in comparison with 22,753 in 1972.

In addition to that, the ministry is maintaining the electrical extensions in all government buildings and in the citizens' homes. This includes lighting, hot water heaters, water coolers, elevators, refrigerators, and both individual and central air conditioning units, in addition to all diesel-fueled electrical generators in service in the villages. The number of these generators reached 413 in 1982.

His Excellency pointed out that the ministry had extended water lines in order to service the consumers, in addition to building water distribution towers in Doha and the surrounding areas, not to mention the storage tanks which supply the outlying regions with water.

His Excellency Shaykh Jasim bin Muhammad 'Al Thani said that a center for controlling the power stations had been set up, since many such stations exist. Thus, the engineers can monitor the process of generating the energy at various power stations, as well as its distribution to the consumers. This can be done by using a computer, in order to assure the greatest degree of safety and security for the workers and the equipment. In addition, there is a central monitoring and control station for water which is used to monitor movement in the installations and water storage facilities.

Concerning future projects, His Excellency the Minister of Electricity and Water made it clear that the ministry had completed its study of constructing a new power and water purification station in the al-Wasil area,



which lies 30 kilometers to the north of Doha. In fact, a contract has been concluded for the field survey operation to be conducted on the site. Moreover, the competitive bidding on the operations connected with the basic steps of the first stage of this project has been completed. This stage will include the installation of four steam generators, each with a capacity of 150 megawatts, and eight water purification units which will produce a total of 40 million gallons of drinking water.

His Excellency said that the ministry had undertaken a study of the development plans and the directions being taken by heavy and light industry in the country. The ministry suggested that main transforming stations with a capacity of 220,000 volts be set up. The current maximum capacity is 132,000 volts.

His Excellency the Minister of Electricity and Water added that, in view of the expansion being witnessed by the country, studies are now under way on expanding this center, so that it can handle all the power generation and distribution stations which will be built in the future to meet the increasing demand for electricity. This center is considered to be one of the most modern control centers in the world.

Concerning joint cooperation in the field of electricity by the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] countries, His Excellency made it clear at the end of the interview that recommendations exist concerning the unification of rates for water and electricity services among the GCC countries, and that such recommendations also exist concerning the use of heating insulation in buildings as a basic method for lowering the consumption of electricity.

12224

CSO: 4404/103

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES AWARDING OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 9 Oct 83 p 7

[Article: "The Contractors Are Studying the Possibility of Demanding That the Government Compensate Them for Losses Resulting From Delayed Payments."]

[Text] Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz bin Muhammad al-Qasimi, chairman of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), has confirmed in an interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the federation's standing committee on contracts is now studying the possibility of demanding that the government compensate contractors for losses resulting from delayed payments on the part of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, such as bank interest, or losses due to the interruption of the completion of their activities. Some contractors have had to face numerous labor and financial problems due to delayed payments on the part of the government.

He said that the federation is now demanding that the government create clear programs for government construction so that local contractors would know ahead of time all the projects being planned. They could then take part with the owners of the local building materials industries in the projects in accordance with the objective programs.

He confirmed that the country's companies have gained great experience by now, and that they are capable of bearing all the responsibilities connected with the construction of the country's great projects without turning to foreign companies. He pointed out that the committee is discussing the subject of the current system of contracting used by the government and the contractors in light of the suggestions made by the committee. At the same time, it is studying the subject of setting up a fundamental statute for the Federation of Arab Contractors. This project has been adopted by the Arab League, and it has been decided that the federation's headquarters will be located in Casablanca, Morocco. It will hold its first founding meeting on 27 October. This is encouraging contractors in the UAE to learn about big construction projects in the Arab world and take part in them. This holds true in a special way for participation in the building of Iraq after the war stops, so that the UAE will be able to take part in some projects through the Federation of Arab Contractors.

In addition, the suggestions which will be submitted to the government in connection with the classification of the contractors in the country are being discussed, as are some of the laws which regulate contractors' work in the Emirates.

#### Classifying Contractors

Concerning the suggestions dealing with the classification of contractors, he said that the emirates of Abu Dhabi, Dubai and al-Shariqah had worked out projects for classifying contractors. However, these projects differ from one emirate to another. In addition, the Ministry of Public Works has worked out a special classification for contractors who are connected to the big state projects. The Federation of Chambers of Commerce has requested the Ministry of Public Works to proceed slowly in issuing the law classifying contractors, so that the law can be promulgated on the basis of coordination the member chambers and the state's municipalities.

#### Financial Market

Concerning the new securities market in the UAE, he said: "It will be opened in the very near future, after the Supreme Founding Committee of the securities market finishes studying the bill on the subject of the market. It will then refer the bill to the Office of Religious Opinion and Legislation, where it will be studied, the legal materials will be drawn up, and the finishing touches will be put on the law, so that it can attain its final form. Then it will be sent to us, so that we can submit it to His Highness, the minister of commerce and economics. He will submit it to the cabinet, which will promulgate the law.

"However, before sending it on to the higher authorities, we think we will discuss the matter with the administration of the Central Bank, since the banking law allows a securities market to be set up on the basis of a fundamental statute and the agreement of brokers on the Central Bank law.

Similarly, it is preferable for this statute to be under the umbrella of the Central Bank, for setting up this market at the right time is consistent with the current intention to create a joint company for the securities market in which the profits will be divided up among the participating citizens. Supervision will be the province of the Supreme Board, which will be directed by the government and work according to the government's instructions."

#### Importance of the Market

He said: "It is important to set up a securities market in the UAE because in the past many financial transactions using securities took place without the buying and selling of these shares being organized. Therefore, stock trading moved to the "Sug al-Manakh" in Kuwait, which served many UAE citizens. Thus, it is necessary to set up a local market for securities in order to organize the buying and selling of shares and

and to rescue those engaging in this kind of commerce from the dilemma they are now struggling with, especially since many of them have a large group of shares which they can only deal in through a new financial market organized by the government. In addition, most of our country's companies are joint companies, and their shares are exchanged in the markets in an unorganized fashion and without any monitoring. This causes investors to hesitate when buying or selling shares, because prices are still obscure unannounced officially. Moreover, the UAE's markets are suffering from weakness and deterioration in most economic areas, from buying and selling stocks to contacting, industry and commerce. The situation has to be saved gradually, so that we can save something from the deterioration of the country's economy."

#### Causes of Stagnation in Commerce

Concerning the situation of commerce in the UAE, he said: "The commercial situation has been hit by stagnation, due to the blow which has struck the re-exporting trade as a result of the long war between Iraq and Iran. Many traders expected the war to end after a short time. Some of them continue to stock up goods in warehouses and expect the war to end, but the war is unfortunately still continuing.

"Some of these goods have been ruined, and the brands of others have changed, while still others have been the object of an accumulation of interest payments owed to the banks. Traders have not been able to maneuver. They and their trade have been hit by stagnation. Moreover, the small traders have been greatly affected because their sales fell along with their imports as a result of the new laws on emigration. Similarly, the delay in the government's payments to traders, contractors and concessionaires and the delay in issuing and allocating the state's budget, with regard to projects and employees, as well as other obligations, have helped cause the stagnation.

"The question now being asked is what the future of the stagnation will be. We say that the war is still continuing, the state's payments from the federal budget are still being delayed, and the emigration laws are still being applied in an insistent manner. Moreover, both government and private building projects have ceased. There is not expected to be any development and growth in building and construction operations. The reason is that most utilities and most of the infrastructure, in the form of airports, ports, roadways, bridges, schools, people's houses, and other big projects have been completed. This includes even electricity, water and most other services. We can do nothing but turn to strengthening industry. We are constantly demanding that the government reexamine the implementation of the federal industry law and protect the country's industries, so that industries can arise and rearrange the economy. As long as there is oil and gas which is burned off without being exploited, we must encourage the owners of industries who are capable of doing so to develop them and exploit the country's primary materials."

Concerning the continuation of the "Sug al-Manakh" crisis and the position of the UAE nationals who were hurt by it, Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Qasimi said: "Twenty-five percent of the UAE nationals hurt in the market have benefited from the efforts exerted by the Federation of Chambers of Commerce with parties in Kuwait. Most of what the UAE national were owed had been paid. Some money which they do not deserve has been left over. This consists of the stock certificates which remain in the hands of the investors. Let us confirm here that the stock market in the UAE can act to invigorate and return some activity to the stagnant market."

12224

CSO: 4404/103



## BRIEFS

WEAK INDUSTRY IN ABU DHABI--Just as the Arab countries are praising industrial sectors and the way they contribute effectively to the diversification of income sources, a study done by the planning office in Abu Dhabi has said that the industrial sector in that emirate is characterized today by being consumer-oriented, ordinary, and full of internal competition. It is tied to the foreign sector, in addition to being ineffective and incapable of competing. However, the study provides a number of local and administrative factors which account for the weakness of the industrial sector. These include the absence of coordination and economic integration in the field of industry, both on the emirate level and the national level, the multiplicity of agencies responsible for industrial projects, which results in a lack of desirable coordination, the narrowness of the local market, which opens the way for industries to be set up which produce on a large scale at a reasonable cost, the lack of workers, and the absence of incentives and facilities to spur the creation of industries on a sound basis. The industrialists of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) demanded some time ago that the Gulf economic agreement be reformed, since it would lead to industrial to industrial products from the Gulf flooding into the UAE, thereby offering locally made products sharp competition. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic, No 346, Oct 83 p 49] 12224

CSO: 4404/103

# CONDITIONS PREVAILING IN SOVIET-OCCUPIED AFGHANISTAN

Kuching SARAWAK TRIBUNE in English 2 Nov 83 pp 7, 8

[Text]

With the United Nations' General Assembly due to debate the issue of Afghanistan this month for the fifth time in four years, increasing international attention is being paid to the Soviet military intervention in that traditionally non-aligned country.

According to information provided by refugees in September and October, the Afghan Muslim guerrillas continue to harass the USSR's 105,000-strong occupation forces. Even in Kabul, the capital, the guerrillas have in recent weeks inflicted casualties in rocket attacks on the heavily-guarded Soviet Embassy and on the ancient Bala Hissar citadel, now a Russian army base.

The Soviet authorities are also having trouble with their reluctant allies, the remnants of the Afghan armed forces. Early in October, the Russians arrested 131 army and air-force personnel, including seven officers.

These Afghans were suspected of aiding a

guerrilla group which raided Shindand airfield in Farah Province on June 7-8 and damaged seven MiG aircraft. Since the arrests about 300 Afghan troops have joined the guerrillas.

The large-scale Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan began in December, 1979, when the Russian invaders murdered the incumbent President, Hafizullah Amin, and installed in his place Babrak Karmal as the head of a puppet Afghan government.

Since then Soviet "advisers" have been placed in each government ministry in Kabul. The police, the law courts, the information media and education are all controlled by the Russians, sometimes assisted by East Europeans and, in recent weeks, by several officials of the Tudeh Party (the Iranian Communist Party).

The role played by the Soviet occupation authorities has been described in statements issued in Pakistan by Dr. Said Mohammed Yusuf Elmi, an academic at Kabul University until recently.

He said that enrolment in the university was now "nominal", with students being forcibly drafted into the Karmal regime's army. Classical studies had been suspended, and new anti-Islamic subjects were being taught by Russians.

The Soviet military occupation continues to have dire consequences in human and economic terms. The Russian army and air force have killed many thousands of men, women and children in villages suspected of harbouring guerrillas.

Soviet aircraft have bombed and strafed civilians or have dropped anti-personnel mines, some looking like toys, on pedestrian tracks. The Russians have razed whole villages and have burned the crops of peasants believed to be assisting the guerrillas.

Since the 1979 invasion there has been a massive increase in refugees fleeing Afghanistan. About three million have been given shelter in Pakistan. There is also a large refugee community in Iran, and smaller numbers in India, West Germany and other countries. One in every five Afghans is now a refugee.

The United Nations' General Assembly had

passed four resolutions (two in 1980 and one each in 1981 and 1982) condemning the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. Similar censures have been issued by the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the Islamic Conference Organisation, the European Economic Community and many other international bodies.

The Soviet Government still refuses to say anything meaningful about withdrawing its armed forces from Afghanistan. However, Moscow's official information media report favourably on the attempts to reach a negotiated settlement that have been made by Sr. Diego Cordovez, the UN Secretary General's Personal Representative on Afghanistan.

Sr. Cordovez's well-intentioned efforts have so far achieved nothing of substance. Indeed, in the opinion of many recent commentaries in the world's Press, his style of diplomacy may tend to give undeserved international respectability to the Karmal regime and deflect world attention from the USSR's continuing refusal to engage in meaningful negotiation.

REBELS REPORTEDLY KILL 16 GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Penang THE STAR in English 8 Nov 83 p 17

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Mon. — Guerillas have killed 16 Afghan government officials, including a Secret Service chief, in a surprise attack near the Pakistan border, the rebels said yesterday.

In four hours of fighting on Oct. 28, the guerillas killed 16 Afghan officials including the regional chief of the Khad Secret Service Agency, the local commander and the local head of the semi-military National Fatherland Front.

Several posts and bunkers of the Fatherland Front were also destroyed during the attack while records of the local administration were burned.

Independent sources and western diplomats could not confirm the report.

Meanwhile, violence was also reported elsewhere:

● Soviet troops shot dead 10 Afghan women during a demonstration last week in Kabul protesting against searches of women by Russian soldiers;

● Some 300 insurgents attacked and badly damaged radar installations, telephone and telegraph facilities at

Spin Buldak, according to the Afghan Press Agency; and

● The English language newspaper *Pakistan Times* in Rawalpindi reported yesterday that five girls were killed and several others injured in a bombing in Kabul last week.

The newspaper said that a bomb planted by guerillas went off during a play staged by an Afghan communist students organisation in collaboration with a Soviet students group visiting Kabul.

Rebels said one of the 10 Soviet soldiers who deserted a unit at Jalalabad airport last week had joined them, bringing with him a new weapon called the *Krenkov* which was considered to be superior to the Soviet-made *Kalashinov* assault rifle.

The Peshawar-based rebel news agency quoted reports in Jalalabad and several other areas as saying that 10 to 13 Soviet soldiers had deserted and one had been killed, although independent sources could not confirm the report.

CSO: 4600/174

## PRESIDENT SPEAKS AT CHANDIGARH BANK OPENING

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 13 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] CHANDIGARH, November 12--The President, Mr. Zail Singh, today warned the people that clouds of war were hovering around India and urged them to do everything possible to maintain the unity and integrity of the country.

The President said that some powers were jealous of the progress made by India and it was quite possible that one of them might help or engineer an attack on India.

The President, who was inaugurating the 600th branch of Punjab and Sind bank here, assured the big gathering, amidst cheers, that this nefarious design of unfriendly powers would not succeed as India was quite capable of looking after its integrity and freedom.

Mr. Zail Singh warned such powers not to remain under any delusion as any attack on India would boomerang on them.

Mr. Zail Singh asserted that India was not at all interested in destabilising Pakistan or Bangladesh. In fact, the stability of these nations was in the interests of India, Mr. Zail Singh added.

### Plea to Intellectuals

The President pointed out that since the election of India as the leader of the non-aligned movement, its responsibilities had increased manifold and the nation's voice was being heard in the comity of nations more effectively than before.

Referring indirectly to Punjab, the President said that this part of the country was the swordarm of India and urged the people to use their sword against the enemies of the country and not against their own people.

The President appealed to intellectuals, particularly writers and journalists, to help bring about an atmosphere conducive to talks.

Earlier, the President distributed loans to about 600 handicapped persons on behalf of the bank. The President praised the progress made by the bank in implementing the 20-point programme, particularly after its nationalisation.



The Punjab governor, Mr. B. D. Pande said that bank robberies were causing great distress and the government was doing its best to check this crime, though it had not achieved much success. The government was willing to render any assistance for the safety of the bank and its employees. He expressed the hope that this problem would be solved soon with the co-operation of the public.

CSO: 4600/1280

## PRESIDENT SPEAKS AT TRADE FAIR OPENING

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] NOV. 14--Releasing a white pigeon in the air, the President, Mr Zail Singh, declared open the India International Trade Fair '83 in New Delhi, on Monday. Simultaneously, children released hundreds of coloured balloons and they floated in the sky and made the occasion look quite festive.

Describing the fair as a significant national event, the President, in his brief inaugural address, said that the theme of the fair had been aptly chosen as "Cooperation among developing countries". He said the need for such cooperation had never been so urgent as today and that this would enable the developing countries to achieve some measure of self-reliance and also contribute to global prosperity.

The President said that this year, the fair had assumed special significance, since the Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meet was also being held in New Delhi. He hoped some distinguished guests would find time to visit the fair and see for themselves the progress made by India in various fields.

In a subtle way, the President also took this opportunity to tell the big industrial houses that they should have come forward on their own to participate in the fair in a befitting manner. They should have shared their expertise with the Trade Fair Authority of India, he said.

He was happy to note that an ever-increasing number of foreign Governments representing all the regions of the world were participating in the fair, he said and praised the Trade Fair Authority for its efforts to provide various facilities to the participants and visitors. He expressed the hope that the event would result in substantial business, both for Indian and foreign participants.

Earlier, Mr V. P. Singh, Union Minister for Commerce, said that our import and export policy was progressively being oriented to help promote trade and that the Government was willing to encourage imports to help export production become more competitive in sectors where we already had a comparative advantage in international trade.

He said trade fairs helped the country to assess its trade potential. He stated that the persistent recession in the industrialized economies, with high levels of unemployment, had led to increased protectionism in the world economy. This had had serious repercussions on export prospects of developing countries.

World trade had increased at an average rate of 5% from 1975 to 1979 and by 1.5% in 1980, while it had remained stagnant in 1981 and had actually declined last year, he said. But India should be in a position to take advantage whenever the world economy recovered, he said.

The opening ceremony was attended by Dr Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of the German Democratic Republic, and the trade delegations of Australia and the Netherlands.

CSO: 4600/1287

## GANDHI ADDRESSES GAUHATI PUBLIC MEETING 12 NOV

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 13 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] GAUHATI, November 12--THE Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, today assured the people of Assam that the work of tribunals for detection of post-1971 migrants would be undertaken with speed and vigour. For this purpose, all sections of the people should extend their wholehearted co-operation.

Addressing a mammoth public meeting at judges Field here this morning, the Prime Minister said that she had some reservations about the effectiveness of putting up barbed wire fencing to stop the infiltration.

But since a physical barrier on the Assam-Bangladesh border was wanted by the people of Assam, the government had agreed to it. Work on the erection of the fencing had already begun. Some more steps by way of strengthening border watchposts and stricter vigil would be taken soon.

She regretted that the agitation leaders had not accepted the government's offer made in 1981 to start detecting the post-1971 infiltrators, while talks continued to find out a lasting solution to the problem. Had that offer been accepted, much progress could have been made by now.

Referring to the violence in Assam, the Prime Minister said the people, irrespective of caste, creed and language, were the victims. All sections of the people suffered. This was a slur on the fair name of Assam and the country as a whole.

She reminded the people that resorting to violence had never solved any problem. Mrs. Gandhi said that apart from the loss of life and property in Assam, the violence had weakened the social fabric of the state. Though peace and normalcy had now returned, cases of individual terrorism were still continuing.

Dressed in an Assamese silk "mekhela" and "chaddar", Mrs. Gandhi reiterated that the solution of any problem could be found if all sections of the people extended their co-operation. While finding a solution, one must take into account the repercussions that it might have on the country as a whole. In this connection, she pointed out that the agitation in the state had retarded the pace of development. A number of industrialists, who had come forward to set up units, had backed out.

She said it was the duty of the government and her party to see that the rights guaranteed in the constitution were not denied to any section of the people.

She expressed her happiness to note that women in Assam enjoyed a better social status than women in other parts of the country.

Stressing the need for unity in the country, the Prime Minister said the people would be able to defend their hard-earned freedom only when they were united.

The Prime Minister promised the people of Assam and the north-east that special measures would be taken for the accelerated development of the region and solving problems like unemployment. The 20-point programme and other development programmes had already been taken up for the uplift of the poor and the down-trodden, but a large number of people, like Harijans and tribals for the development schemes were being taken, were not aware of the benefits.

Earlier, the Assam chief minister, Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, read out an address of welcome acknowledging with gratitude the Prime Minister's valued assistance and guidance which, he said, had considerably helped the state government regain the lost rhythm of life and inspired constructive forces to reassert themselves.

On behalf of the people of Assam, Mr. Saikia presented some traditional gifts to the Prime Minister.

Dr. Tarini Mohan Barooah, chief administrator of the Gauhati municipal corporation, offered some gifts to Mrs. Gandhi on behalf of the people of the city.

Around, the Prime Minister left for Delhi in a special IAF plane. The chief minister and his cabinet colleagues were among those present at the airport to see her off.

CSO: 4600/1280



GANDHI SPEAKS AT NORTHEAST REGIONAL CONGRESS-I MEET

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] GAUHATI, November 11 (UNI, PTI)--PRIME Minister Indira Gandhi today scoffed at speculation that she was contemplating early parliamentary elections.

She said that the holding of regional conferences of her party did not mean that elections were round the corner.

Mrs. Gandhi was addressing the north-eastern regional Congress (I) conference, which is a follow-up to the resolutions of the recent Bombay session of the AICC (I).

This is the second regional conference of the Congress (I), the first having been held at Kurukshetra (Haryana) on November 8 and 9.

Mrs. Gandhi, who arrived here this afternoon on a two-day visit to Assam, laid the foundation stone of the 2.56 km rail-cum-road bridge over the Brahmaputra, between Jogighopa and Pancharatna in Goalpara district.

She asked Congress (I) workers to establish close links with the rural people and not to look to the party leadership for guidance on every issue.

Referring to the incidents of terrorism in Punjab and Assam, Mrs. Gandhi said these would be firmly dealt with. She, however, added that terrorism had become a worldwide phenomenon. The situation in India, compared to many other countries, was "much better."

Mrs. Gandhi said efforts to solve the current problems by seeking the co-operation of the concerned people was not indicative of her party's weakness.

Sometimes such an approach gave rise to the impression that this was done due to weakness. The impression was unfortunate, she said.

Mrs. Gandhi did not specify the problems but she was obviously referring to the Assam agitation.

Assam, she recalled, had played a glorious role in the struggle for independence.

Even as Mrs. Gandhi was addressing the conference, most of Gauhati city, except Dispur where the conference was being held, was plunged into darkness.

The three-hour black-out call, given by the Assam agitation leaders, became effective from 5 p.m. Power lines were reported to have been snapped as a result of sabotage at many places.

Private vehicles were off the road but state transport buses were plying and train services remained uninterrupted.

Listing the steps taken by the Centre for development of the north-eastern region, the Prime Minister assured the seven states of this region that there would be no curtailment in the programmes formulated for this area.

Talking about corruption, Mrs. Gandhi asked everyone to deal with it firmly. Her party had pledged to give smooth governments and it was the responsibility of her party's chief ministers to ensure that.

The party conference, meanwhile, called upon the Assam agitation leaders to forsake their current path and instead co-operate with the government in solving the foreigners' problem.

The conference also urged the underground forces operating clandestinely in Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura to abstain from their anti-national activities.

Asking the underground forces to come up in the open, a political resolution adopted at the conference implored them to contribute their mite in making the development schemes launched by the Union government and their respective state governments successful.

The conference regretted that the Assam agitation had dislocated the life and progress not only of the state but also of the neighbouring ones. "Blockades, bandhs, black-outs have contributed to thwarting the economic development of the entire region."

It deplored the involvement of some opposition parties like the Janata Party and BJP, who were openly giving encouragement to the Assam movement.

The conference condemned such "anti-national activities".

Reflecting the tone of the resolution, Mr. Rishang Keishing, chief minister of Manipur and Mr. Bipin Pal Das, former Union deputy minister, appealed to the Assam agitation leaders to give up the path of violence and sort out the foreigners' issue amicably.

Mr. Keishing also made an impassioned appeal to the young people engaged in underground activities in Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura to come out, assuring them that the government would rehabilitate them.

The conference also called upon the governments and the people of the region to take maximum advantage of the facilities and assistance offered by the Union government for accelerated economic development.

In an economic resolution, the conference urged the Centre to expedite the implementation of the various on-going projects, particularly those concerning communications and power, as well as other industrial projects like the paper mills of the Hindusthan Paper Corporation.

The conference expressed its deep gratitude to the Prime Minister and her government for paying "special attention" to the economic development of the region.

CSO: 4600/1275

## FINANCE MINISTER MEETS WITH ASIAN BANK HEAD

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 10--Mr. Masao Fujioka, visiting President of the Asian Development Bank, expressed the hope here today that it would be possible for India to commence the borrowing programme from the ADB by the latter half of 1984. A staff mission from the ADB would visit India in January to make the necessary preparations for the borrowing programme, he said, but gave no indication of the size of the loan. It would be a "modest" beginning, he added.

India's right to borrow from the ADB, which has already been acknowledged by the Bank, was among the subjects discussed between Mr. Fujioka and Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Union Finance Minister, when they met today. The international situation, multilateral lending institutions and the effect of protectionism on the structural adjustment programmes of the developing countries were among the other issues disclosed.

Mr. Mukherjee suggested that the limit on the size of the ADB loan to India should be kept flexible especially if the appraisal of the staff mission revealed a larger requirement of assistance. Both the ADB and India would continue the dialogue on the borrowing programme.

He told Mr. Fujioka that the sectors for which India was seeking ADB assistance were agriculture, specially minor irrigation projects, fertilizers, energy, transmission and mining.

The ADB President expressed his willingness to consider initially the projects in the areas of energy and transmission. He also indicated that, to begin with, the loans should be routed through a developmental financing institution like the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India.

Discussion the procurement under the Bank assistance project and India's desire to acquire a larger share of such projects Mr. Mukherjee stressed the need to give preference to consultants from Asia in such projects. This would not only provide them with useful work experience but ensure that relevant technologies were applied.

On ADB capital increase, Mr. Fujioka mentioned that pending a final view on China's entry, there might be a small increase to meet immediate needs.

Later, Mr. Fujioka called on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

'Encourage capital inflow': Delivering the eighth silver jubilee memorial lecture for the Industrial Finance Corporation of India in Delhi on Thursday, Mr. Fujioka said developing countries should adopt strategies to encourage capital inflows. "Bureaucratic Government procedures will have to be streamlined. Price and other distortions will have to be corrected and industrial infrastructure greatly improved".

Admitting that these measures would cause problems when the countries introduced them, he said, "if the industrial sector is to make a significant contribution to economic growth and employment creation in the Eighties, this seems to be a necessary transition".

CSO: 4600/1274



## LOK DAL, BJP JOIN FOR WINTER PARLIAMENT SESSION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 11--THE Lok Dal and the BJP would "for all practical purposes" function as a single party in parliament during the winter session which begins on Tuesday.

This was stated by the general secretary of the Lok Dal, Mr. S. N. Mishra, at a press briefing here today. Mr. Mishra said that the two parties were already functioning as a single unit in the U.P. legislature.

The Lok Dal leader said that even if the joint party was not recognised officially, the two groups in both the houses of parliament would function as a cohesive unit.

Mr. Mishra said that the national executive of the Lok Dal at its two-day session concluded late in the night yesterday, reviewed the progress made in strengthening the National Democratic Alliance (NDA). The overall view expressed by members from various states was that the NDA had so far functioned "exceedingly well".

The executive stressed the need to expedite the formation of co-ordination committees at the state level. Mr. Mishra hoped that these committees would be formed within a week or so.

Mr. Mishra said that there was no question of "exploitation" of people's sentiments on the controversial beef tallow issue. But not political party could afford to ignore the concern of the people.

Beef tallow, he said, would be one of the many issues which the NDA would take up but it would certainly not be made the only election issue.

He said the BJP had already accepted, by and large, the economic programme of the Lok Dal. There were no major differences between the two parties.

## Stand on Janata

Mr. Mishra denied having received any communication from the Janata Party asking for a co-ordinated opposition during the next session of parliament. He said if such a proposal was made, his party would give serious thought to it.

The executive has authorised its president, Mr. Charan Singh, to take necessary steps to deal with requests from leaders and workers of other parties seeking admission to the Lok Dal.

He did not elaborate if there were any such pending requests. Asked if some former members of Lok Dal (K) had sought admission to his party, Mr. Mishra said, "I don't know".

The national executive, in a resolution adopted yesterday, charged the government with having a vested interest in keeping anarchic conditions in that country, the developments in Punjab being a part of it.

Lack of determination on the part of the government confirmed the growing belief that it wanted "to keep the pot boiling to serve its own partison ends".

The resolution on the internal situation in the country says: "The Akali leadership has unfortunately fallen into the trap of the ruling party by adopting a policy which alienates it from the entire people of the country on the one hand and gives free scope and licence to anti-social elements on the other."

CSO: 4600/1275

## PRESIDENT INAUGURATES SCIENCE EXHIBIT IN LUCKNOW

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 12 Nov 83 p 15

[Text] LUCKNOW, November 11--PRESIDENT Zail Singh said here yesterday, "the harnessing of science for public good cannot be taken for granted. In the present-day world, it would seem that scientific endeavour is expressing itself more for creating efficient means of destruction rather than alleviating poverty or human suffering."

Inaugurating the 13th national science exhibition for children, he said, "We have to redeem our faith in what science and technology can achieve for mankind."

He said that growing tensions in the modern world, coupled with the twin threats of a nuclear holocaust and biological warfare, had created a new imperative for scientific development. All efforts should be concentrated on channelising science and technology for productive processes.

Mr. Zail Singh stressed that it was primarily Jawaharlal Nehru's foresight which was responsible for laying a sound scientific and technological base for the nation's march towards prosperity.

However, there was no doubt that the scientific and technological infrastructure had to be strengthened. More facilities should be made available for research and development, especially for young scientists.

The President remarked that had India been able to provide the appropriate facilities to a Nobel scientist like Dr. Hargovind Singh Khurana, he would not have had to migrate to the U.S.

He criticised the "trader mentality of weighing even scientific developments in terms of profit and loss" and said, "We must have a more broadminded approach towards promoting research and developments in this sphere."

Commenting on the exhibition, which has about 160 models prepared by school children from 27 states and Union territories on the theme, "Science and technology for productivity," the President said, "It has served as a meeting place of inquiring minds and creative energies, a place to give and share, to learn, to interact and to perform."

Scientific activity could rarely take place on an individual basis. It had to be a corporate activity involving many individuals and institutions, he added.

The President later went round the exhibition, jointly organised by the National Council of Educational Research and Training and the U.P. government.

UNI adds: The President deprecated the attempts to politicise Urdu and link it with a particular religion.

The President, inaugurating an all-India "mushaira" organised by the all-India Urdu sabha here, called for massive efforts to enrich both Urdu and Hindi which, according to him, were the Hindustani language, the "lingua franca" of India.

He said Urdu was not a foreign language but had been developed in India by the people themselves. Nor was it the language of a particular section of the people.

"In fact, all non-Muslims should come out in support of Urdu and all Muslims should adopt Hindi as their own language," he said.

CSO: 4600/1275

## CPI GENERAL SECRETARY MEETS PRESS IN PATNA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] PATNA, Nov 14--CPI General Secretary C Rajeswara Rao today called upon Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to give up her policy of confrontation with opposition parties and work for a national consensus on questions like world peace, defence of the country and fight against disruptive forces.

Addressing a press conference here this afternoon Mr Rao regretted that the Prime Minister was trying to topple the Janata Government in Karnataka and preparing ground for Central intervention in Jammu and Kashmir and allowing the Punjab problem to drift.

The CPI leader, who is to lead the party's 'Bihar Bachao' demonstration here tomorrow, alleged that in Punjab the administration had totally collapsed and extremists and anti-social elements were free to do as they wished.

Mr Rao further alleged that what Mrs Gandhi was saying and doing regarding Punjab was only helping the extremist forces. If she really desired to solve Punjab problem she should call a tripartite meeting without any delay, he demanded.

Regarding Jammu and Kashmir, the CPI leader stressed that Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah was for unity and integrity of the country.

Mr Rao called the formation of United Front of five opposition parties as an important development and said that Left parties were seeking to unite with it to give a progressive orientation to the country's politics.

When asked about CPI's relation with the United Front, Mr Rao said 'we will cooperate with it in the task of mobilising people into all India mass movements against unemployment price rise and communal and chauvinist activities'.

The CPI General Secretary also alleged that US President Reagan was endangering the security of our country by placing nuclear armed navy in the Indian Ocean arming Zia's military regime and encircling our country with hostile military regimes. Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi had even declared that there was danger of a military threat to our country from Pakistan, he said and added 'if it is so she should take the help of all the patriotic forces to meet such



a threat'. But instead of doing it she had adopted a policy of confrontation with all the Left and secular-democratic parties he alleged.

Talking about international situation Mr Rao said that US President Reagan was making all preparations to place nuclear missiles in western Europe, rejecting the Soviet Union's proposal for saving the world from a nuclear catastrophe.

CSO: 4200/1290

## CPI HOLDS RALLY CONDEMNING BIHAR 'MISRULE'

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Nov 83 p 4

[Text] PATNA, Nov 15--The Communist Party of India today took out a massive procession in Patna with the slogan of 'Bihar Bachao' against the Congress-I misrule in the State.

The eight-kilometre long procession that paraded through some of the main streets of Patna was one of the biggest the state capital has seen in recent years. Patna city had virtually gone red with red flags fluttering everywhere. Most of the demonstrators were farm labourers and small farmers.

Some of the women carried their babies on arms and belongings on the heads. Several old men and women with red flags were seen walking with the help of sticks. They had come to protest against the cuts in old age pension and unemployment allowances.

The demonstrators also protested against 18 police firings in the State within less than three months.

Beating drums the demonstrators shouted slogans to register their protest against spiralling prices, corruption and unemployment.

Slogans were also heard against US imperialism's bid to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust.

Later the procession turned into a rally at the Gandhi Maidan. The rally was addressed by CPI General Secretary C Rajeshwar Rao, Chaturanan Mishra and presided over by Party's State Secretary Sunil Mukherjee.

Addressing the massive rally, Mr Rao said that people of all sections were suffering due to Congress-I misrule and CPI's fight would continue till social sim was established in India.

He said that Congress-I could not establish its rule by purchasing members belonging to other parties. In this context he mentioned the alleged bribe of Rs two lakh to an independent MLA C R Gowda, an associate member of the Janata Legislature Party by the Congress-I in Karnataka. He added that an attempt to purchase some National Conference members in Jammu and Kashmir was also on.

Mr Rao said that neither Mr Farooq Abdullah nor his party was anti-national. National Conference party had even participated in our freedom struggle under late Mr Sheikh Abdullah and it was wrong on the part of Mrs Indira Gandhi to topple Jammu and Kashmir Government in an 'irresponsible manner'.

#### World Peace

He said that so far as the concern for world peace, integrity and unity of the country were concerned, the CPI had no difference with Mrs Gandhi, but 'we will continue our fight against the Congress-I misrule till there was poverty, unemployment and corruption'.

Mr Rao welcomed the process of coming together of the Left and democratic forces but commented that the process was slow.

Mr Rao regretted that the farmers were not getting the remunerative prices and the Government was doing nothing in this direction.

He pleaded that the excess land with the landlords should be distributed among the landless. He wanted that all multinational companies in India should be taken over by the Government since 50 per cent of their initial capital are from the Indian banks and Government agencies.

Mr Rao criticised the proposed 'Ekatmata Yatra' and alleged that it was an attempt to divide the country in the name of religion. 'This Yatra will not solve problems like poverty and unemployment', he added.

Mr Chaturanan Mishra alleged that the Congress-I misrule had made Bihar the poorest state and India the poorest country in the world. It had resulted into mass exodus of people from Bihar to other states during harvestine. It had compelled Bihari girls to adopt prostitution.

Mr Mishra further said that since Mr Chandrasekhar Singh became the Chief Minister of Bihar there was one police firing every week.

#### Secret Deal

Mr Mishra alleged that Chief Minister Chandrasekhar Singh has entered into a secret deal with the Tatas and wrote off Rs nine crore of Government dues. The reason for doing such a thing was best known to the Chief Minister, Mr Mishra said.

Mr Mishra also alleged that the Government was taking no step to realise the dues from Rohtas Industries and sugar mills.

Through a resolution adopted at the meeting, the CPI took a pledge to do everything possible to dislodge the Congress-I Government from Bihar and presenting a Left-Democratic alternative to the Congress-I, since the Congress-I misrule had blocked the progress of the State.

The meeting felt that to save the State from 'destruction and devastation' it was necessary that all Left, democratic, patriotic and secular forces should unite and mobilise people who could dislodge the Congress-I Government.

## ANALYST TELLS CONGRESS-I ATTITUDE ON ELECTIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 15 Nov 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 14--The Congress (I) strategists want to be doubly certain that at least two of the four southern States would be on the ruling party's side before the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, decides on the timing of the next parliamentary elections.

It is in this context that the toppling game in Karnataka has come to assume special importance in the Congress (I)'s electoral preparations, although the clumsy way it is being handled might prove to be quite counter-productive in the bargain.

The tacit understanding already reached with the AIADMK leader, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, is sought to be supplemented by some sort of accord in Andhra Pradesh as well by entering into a deal with the Telugu Desam for seat adjustments, if possible. Though the Chief Minister, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao, is not encouraging this move, an attempt is nevertheless being made to first wean him away from the other Opposition parties before broaching this idea with him at a higher level at an appropriate moment.

## Jubilation

There was great jubilation in the Congress (I) camp today over the party's victory in Pedapalli, one of the two Assembly constituencies in Andhra Pradesh where by-elections have been held within a year of Telugu Desam's spectacular triumph in the last general elections in the State. The news was immediately conveyed to Mrs. Gandhi and other party leaders who were busy with the Nehru birth anniversary celebrations, as though it was an unmistakable reflection of growing disenchantment with Telugu Desam's rule.

The Congress (I) leaders are not jumping to any hasty conclusions about the significance of the party's victory with a relatively narrow margin in a constituency that was left to Mrs. Maneka Gandhi's Sanjay Manch in the last elections. But they are certainly comforting themselves with the thought that Andhra Pradesh has not been irretrievably lost to the Congress (I) and that it has a sporting chance of giving a reasonably good account of itself in the next parliamentary elections.

It is not surprising that the Congress (I) is inclined to exaggerate the political importance of this modest gain for purely psychological reasons, partly to boost the morale of its own rank and file in Andhra Pradesh and partly to create an impression that the tide has started turning against Telugu Desam, especially the regional spirit represented by it.

But the more pragmatic elements in the party would rather utilise this opportunity to step up their efforts to persuade Mr. N. T. Rama Rao to agree to some electoral adjustments than plunge into the quixotic gamble of a head on collision with him before the Congress (I) in Andhra Pradesh has hardly recovered from the shock and humiliation of its shattering defeat in the last elections.

The Congress (I) leaders realise that the freak victory in Peddapalli was largely due to the triangular fight that followed the Telugu Desam's refusal to accommodate a communist candidate as a token of the solidarity of the Opposition. But such factors help to tilt the scales one way or the other in most Indian elections. It would, therefore, be wrong to deny the Congress (I) credit for its victory in this by-election.

The real test of Mr. Rama Rao's tenacity and his readiness to go it alone again will come at the time of the next parliamentary elections, when the Congress (I) will intensify its efforts to woo him. The moves under way to topple the Janata Government in Karnataka would not make all the difference in enabling the Congress (I) to have at least two southern States on its side, if Mr. Rama Rao decides to put up his own candidates for all the Lok Sabha seats in Andhra Pradesh as he did during the Assembly elections.

The southern vote will be crucial in providing or denying Mrs. Gandhi's party the necessary cushion in winning the next Lok Sabha poll even with a reduced majority to be able to rule the country for another term. It is for this reason that Andhra Pradesh has come to assume crucial importance in the Congress (I)'s strategy for the next parliamentary elections.

As in Tamil Nadu, so in Andhra Pradesh, the Congress (I) hopes to benefit by entering into an electoral alliance or adjustment with the AIADMK and Telugu Desam. It is not so confident of regaining the lost ground on its own in Karnataka by simply toppling the Janata Ministry and forming its Government. The prospects in Kerala are equally unpredictable because of the peculiar local rivalries and alignments.

CSO: 4600/1288



## PRESS REPORTS GOVERNMENT REACTION TO HINDU UNITY BID

## Nervousness over Yagna

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 10 Nov 83 pp 1, 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 9--BY a conservative estimate, over 100 million people, out of India's 700 million will in one way or the other be involved in the month-long Ekatmata (soul-union) Yagna being launched by the Visva Hindu Parishad on November 16.

It will be the first organised attempt, after the great Hindu revivalist movement of Shankaracharya in the 8th century A.D., to unite the different Hindu sects.

The VHP makes no secret of its objective. The secretary-general of the VHP, Mr. Harmohan Lal, says, "let me make it very clear that this yagna is for those who accept this land as their motherland. Only the Hindus call this land Bharat Mata. The others do not accept this land as heir Mata".

So, for the VHP, "national integration" is synonymous with "Hindu consolidation", the ending of the sectoral differences in the Hindu community. After the yagna, "the country will echo to the joyous cries of victory of Bharat Mata and Hindu dharma".

The government fears, quite understandably, that the minorities may not view the country-wide yagna with equanimity. At the last parliamentary consultative committee of the home ministry, a government-sponsored resolution was adopted calling upon the VHP to give up the plan for holding the yagna.

The Union home minister, Mr. P. C. Sethi, has advised the chief ministers to make it clear to the organisers that they would be held responsible if any trouble breaks out. An official announcement said: "The state governments have been advised to fix responsibility on the organisers of the processions in cases where law and order situations arise."

The Central forces (CRPF and BSF) are being kept in readiness to be rushed to the spots where they are needed and Mr. Sethi has asked the chief ministers to take all precautions laid down in the guidelines for controlling religious processions and communal disturbances.

With one-seventh of the population involved in the yagna and with all the religious fervour going into it, some sort of an upsurge should not surprise anyone though one need not hazard a guess about the shape it will take. But the VHP leaders are taking steps to see to it that a permanent institutional infrastructure is created which will continue the unity drive after the yagna is over.

On the four routes of the main processions--starting from the Pashupatinath temple in Nepal, Hardwar in U.P., Ganga Sagar in Bengal and Rameshwaram in the south--1,800 'vishram sthals' (resting camps) will be set up, with exhibitions of portraits of Hindu heroes. These camps will be converted into permanent cultural centres for promoting activities for bringing about Hindu unity.

The VHP has drawn up a budget of Rs. 53 lakhs for organising the yagna. But it is likely to raise not less than Rs. 1.5 crores from contributions against the supply of the holy Ganga water taken from the source, Gangotri. The bottles of water will be distributed all along the routes of the processions. Orders for 15 lakh bottles have been placed with eight firms.

Accepting that Hindu religion is divided by deep schisms, the VHP leaders gave careful thought in finding out the common denominators which could unite all in a common endeavour. They discovered that "Ganga jal" and "Bharat Mata" were the two common symbols which are revered by all Hindus. So "Bharat Mata ki jai" will be the slogan of the processionists and the little bottles of "Ganga jal" will keep lingering in the minds of the thousands of recipients the memories of the "great event".

According to Mr. Harmohan Lal, politicians have been kept out of the organising bodies of the yagna. No person who is an active member of a political party has been given a place in the organising bodies. But workers of political parties and other cultured organisations have been taken in the 50,000-strong volunteer force. The RSS is one of them.

G. K. Reddy Comment

Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Nov 83 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 9.

A new element of bitterness, propelled by a cynical disregard for propriety and rectitude, is creeping into Indian politics in the wake of increasing resort to religious appeal and reliance on superstition by almost all political parties bent on exploiting the ignorance of the people with the approaching parliamentary elections.

The very talk of a snap poll, no matter how vehemently the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has been denying it, has made the Opposition parties quite jittery that she might spring a surprise at an opportune moment to derive the maximum political advantage from it.

Nervous: The Congress (I), which con-

tinues to be the main beneficiary of the Opposition squabbles, is no less nervous that divided as they are, the Lok Dal-BJP and the National Democratic Front might use the beef tallow controversy as an election issue to put the ruling party in the dock, just as the vasectomy episode was utilised in 1977 as a typical example of the Emergency excesses that created widespread indignation.

But in its anxiety to deplore the induction of religion into politics, the Congress (I) is unwittingly playing into the hands of the communal parties by exaggerating the dangers of the politicisation of religion. Instead of taking a proposed yatra that are being organised by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, a protege of the

RSS and BJP. In its normal stride, the Congress (I) has started crying wolf as though the country is going to be plunged into a communal blood-bath by the marching protagonists of militant Hinduism.

**Implied warning:** The newly-formed Cabinet Committee on National Security has been dealing almost exclusively with this threat as though these yatras are going to pose a grave law and order problem. After giving up the earlier idea of banning them, the Home Minister, Mr. P. C. Sethi, was asked to send for the leaders of the Opposition parties concerned and urge them to call off these yatras with an implied warning that the Government might be compelled to take strong action to forestall any possible violence.

A big mistake the Government made was in putting Swami Swaroopanand, the Sankaracharya of Dwarka Peeth, on television to disapprove publicly of the proposed "Ekatmata Yagna" yatra and by implication denounce the attempt to introduce political overtones into this religious event. The organisers of the yatras have sought the support of several other religious leaders and claim to have the blessings of the Sankaracharyas of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam and Sringeri, besides the Swamis of Haridwar, Vrindavan, Sampradaya and Chinmaya Mission.

**Routine march:** A routine religious march, whatever its political motivations, has thus been unnecessarily blown up into a major law and order issue. The State Governments have been alerted and those dealing with internal security at the Centre are closely monitoring the movements of these columns. At one stage the Central Government was quite upset when it was told that the King of Nepal had accepted an invitation to participate in this yagna with a brief appearance at Kanyakumari, but the report later turned out to be baseless since it would have raised protocol problems.

The beef tallow agitation has not been gaining much momentum, despite the melodramatic speech of Mr. Jagjivan Ram in Meerut recalling how the 1857 "mutiny" started in that

town over the use of animal fat for greasing cartridges, or the dharna undertaken by Mr. Charan Singh and Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee in Delhi. The refusal of some temple priests in U.P. and Bihar to accept any offerings cooked in vanaspathi has, no doubt, helped to sustain the campaign, but it is not assuming the dimensions of the public outrage over the vasectomy campaign.

**Confrontation:** The "Ekatmata Yagna" yatra is, however, acquiring the character of a confrontation between the Congress (I) and the rightist Opposition with unfortunate consequences. The first group which started from the famous Pashupatinath temple in Kathmandu on October 28, with the blessings of the King and Queen of Nepal, arrived in Gorakhpur on November 7 and is now heading for Banara, from where it will proceed to Nagpur en route to Rameswaram. The second one is starting from Ganga Sagar, near Calcutta, and proceeding through Nagpur, Bombay and Ahmedabad to Somnath, while the third one from Haridwar will begin on November 16 and proceed via Nagpur to Kanyakumari.

According to the Viswa Hindu Parishad, which is organising this Ekatmata Yagna, the three yatras carrying the portraits of Bharatmata and Ganga water will congregate in Nagpur on November 19 before reaching their respective destinations in mid-December. A large number of local yatras organised in different States will join the main columns as and when convenient to take part in this religious event.

The Congress (I) suspects an insidious bid behind this seemingly innocent religious march to mobilise the orthodox sections of Hindus behind the BJP with the RSS playing the key role through the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, its front organisation. But in attempting to contain this threat of Hindu revivalism, the ruling party is doing exactly the same by stepping up its own involvement in caste and communal politics of its own brand to secure its electoral base.

## Gandhi 15 Nov Speech

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Nov 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANHI ON MONDAY ATTACKED THE PROPOSED "EKATMATA YATRA", AS A THREAT TO THE UNITY AND INTEGRITY OF THE COUNTRY

In her address to about 30,000 Congress-I Seva Dal members at the Boat Club lawns, Mrs Gandhi said no matter how big were the people involved in the proposed Yatra it would prove harmful to the country.

Calling upon the Seva Dal workers to work for the unity of the country through discipline and non-violence she charged that the 'Yatra' organisers had political and selfish interests in organising the Yagna.

She expressed fears that the yatra would work more towards creating distrust among the other communities while drawing attention to the country's and Congress' constitutions that emphasised the need to prevent the spread of communal forces in India where people followed diverse religious beliefs.

Dangers to the country from regionalism, terrorism and external pressures were the other subjects she touched upon in her speech at this third national rally that coincided with the 95th birthday of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Referring to the talk of regionalism on the basis of language in the country, she said the love for one's language did not imply that people speak against the unity of the country.

If regions were to become open only for those who spoke that particular language then there would be no India.

In this context, she told the Seva Dal volunteers that they had a big role to play through a resolve that they would not allow the country to break up but instead knit it together 'through love, peace and non-violence.

Stressing the need to rise above religion, caste and creed differences, she brought home the point by giving the example of Shivaji, who fought against Aurangzeb but chose a Muslim to be his general on the basis of merit alone.

On the subject of terrorism, she said innocent shop-keepers policemen and others were being killed today all for vested ends and the people did not feel safe. These people she charged did not want the country to remain united.

Differing opinions have always existed, they were there even during the freedom struggle and then there were a few terrorists. But the question now is what is the ultimate aim of these terrorists.

Even during the freedom struggle when Indians were not free to walk in their own country and when those fighting for independence had differing opinions, the goal was always clear and no matter what atrocities were committed or lives sacrificed, the people still had love in their hearts and everybody could move about freely and in safety.

Mrs Gandhi emphasised that in this scientific world if a country fell back on its road to progress, then it would lose. She warned again that there were forces interested in pulling the country backward, as they knew that a united India would never be stopped from achieving its aims.

She said there were a lot of pressures upon India though many were not visible. When India fought the Bangladesh war it was under pressure. Today again the same pressure existed in the economic, ideological and other fields and urged the people to examine why the forces were trying to distract us and why the others talked in this way, adding that the tradition in India had been to live and let live and to uplift the downtrodden, as without eradicating poverty, the country could not be strong.

Mrs Gandhi also decried attempts to take resort to arms to achieve an aim saying that even during the independence struggle, when the country was fighting the most powerful ruler in the world, the movement was based on non-violence.

Here she stressed the need to educate the youth and children of the country about the freedom struggle and the numerous sacrifices made to win independence saying that recalling the sacrifices would help us to have courage in taking the country forward.

Earlier she made a token presentation of a certificate to the All India Chief Organiser of the Sewa Dal Navin Ghai Shah.

AICC-I general secretary Rajiv Gandhi also spoke at the function that saw volunteers present different cultural items.

#### CPI Reaction

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Nov 83 pp 1, 9

[Excerpt] The CPI today welcomed Mrs Gandhi's attack on the "Ekatmata Yagna", organized by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad at Hardwar, as a threat to the unity and integrity of the country.

The CPI's readiness to cooperate with the ruling Congress (I) to "counter Hindu communalism" made a significant departure from its earlier position, when the CPI general secretary, Mr C. Rajeswara Rao, had recently publicly accused the Prime Minister of being "communal" and "a supporter of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad".

Now the CPI, in its statement today, has placed its faith in the Congress (I) leaders to rouse their party to play its part, along with all other secular democratic forces, to combat the "menace of this rabid aggressive anti-Muslim Hindu communal poison".

CSO: 4600/1291



## ANALYST SCORES CONGRESS-I ACTIONS IN KASHMIR

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 10 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by Inder Malhotra]

[Text] MONDAY'S Jammu bandh mercifully passed off with much less violence than is customary on such occasions. But it was even more ill-advised than the long string of similar ventures in various parts of the country in recent months. At a time when Punjab is already aflame it is foolhardy, to say the least, to cause strife in so sensitive a neighbouring state as Jammu and Kashmir. And strange though it may seem, the bandh in Jammu was spearheaded not by a political party frustrated on account of prolonged exclusion from power but by the Congress (I) which has the awesome responsibility of ruling the country, both at the Centre and in a large number of states.

Only a few weeks ago, towards the end of September, to be precise, the Congress (I) had, quite properly, rebuked the CPM-led ruling front in West Bengal for staging a statewide bandh in support of its grievances against the Centre. But in Jammu, where the Kashmir government has moved from Srinagar for the winter, the Congress (I) has had no compunction in doing exactly what the Marxists and their cohorts had done in Calcutta. This is by no means all. As Dr. Farooq Abdullah, the J and K chief minister, has been quick to point out, the Jammu bandh was launched practically in the midst of Mrs. Gandhi's repeated appeals to opposition parties to abandon "agitational politics"!

This glaring contradiction is neither purely fortuitous, nor a product of absent-mindedness. There is a method behind it. For one thing, the Congress (I) has always behaved as if it is immune from the set of rules which, in its view, must govern, the conduct of other parties. For another--and this is more important in the present context--the Congress (I) seems hell-bent on a confrontation with the ruling National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir: the bandh on Monday was a mere tactical move within this broad strategy. It was no mere coincidence that at the recent AICC session in Bombay, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, alone among the chief ministers of non-Congress (I) states, was made the target of attack. The momentum generated in Bombay is apparently sought to be kept up.

## Chasm Has Widened

While there is no doubt that the chasm between the National Conference and the Congress (I) within the state and between the state government in Srinagar and

the top leadership of the Congress (I) in New Delhi has widened since the Kashmir assembly elections in June last, a case can be made out that the conflict between the two sides dates back to January 1980 when the Congress (I) returned to power at the Centre.

The moves to topple the late Sheikh Abdullah's government in Kashmir started at about the same time when there was talk in Calcutta of "throwing the Marxist-led ministry into the Bay of Bengal". Wiser counsels, however, prevailed and a head-long collision with the aged and ailing Sheikh was avoided, though the polemics continued. At the time of the Sheikh's death just over a year ago, there was a temporary truce between the two sides. Dr. Farooq Abdullah stepped into his father's oversize shoes with the Congress (I)'s goodwill and blessings. But the squabbles started again, reaching a crescendo at the time of the state assembly elections in June, and have continued since at an equally high pitch.

At one time the situation in West Bengal and that in Kashmir were remarkably similar. Now they have become strikingly different as far as relations between the two state governments and the Congress (I) at the Centre are concerned. After the CPM-led front's return to power in Calcutta in 1982, the Congress (I) learnt to coexist with it, however uneasily. But such respect is unfortunately not being shown to the verdict of the voters in Jammu and Kashmir who have re-elected Dr. Farooq Abdullah's party to office. Herein lies the root of trouble. The cry of rigging was raised also in the case of the poll in West Bengal. It is no more convincing or material in Kashmir today. After all, the same election gave the Congress (I) much greater representation in the state legislature than it has ever had before, especially from the Jammu region.

In any case, there is the perfectly constitutional device of election petitions to take care of any election of dubious validity. But the Congress (I) is evidently looking for short-cuts to get rid of an unwanted ministry. Two factors seem to have combined to impart impetus to this imprudent pursuit.

#### Cong. (I) Men Hasty

In the first place, at the state level at least, the Congress is chockful of hotheads who are in a terrible hurry to get into power by hook or by crook. Secondly, not merely they but also many in the higher echelons of the ruling party in New Delhi are under the impression that, unlike the Marxists in West Bengal or his own illustrious father in Kashmir, Dr. Farooq Abdullah might be vulnerable to pressure. The notion is, of course, absurd. For anything seen by the people to be an arbitrary removal of a duly elected government cannot but have grave consequences in a state with the history, geography and psychology of Jammu and Kashmir. Strangely enough, the advocates of precipitate action within the Congress (I) choose to disregard this reality.

On the other hand, Dr. Farooq Abdullah is not without his faults of which immaturity, often aggravated by insecurity, is one. Another is an occasional lack of restraint in his utterances. All this surely gives a handle to his detractors who happen to command influence in New Delhi. But when all is said

and done, he has done nothing which might warrant dismissal of his government which is what some Congress (I) stalwarts have been suggesting, at least in private.

It was doubtlessly wrong on Dr. Abdullah's part to have entered into an alliance with the blatantly communal and separatist elements represented by Mir Waiz Farooq. In doing so, he threw away the legacy of his father, dating back half a century, according to which there was never to be a meeting ground between the "Sher" and "Bakra" parties, the Sheikh being the Sher-e-Kashmir and the successive Mir Waizes being identified by their goatee beards. The ugly demonstration during the single-day cricket match in Srinagar on October 13 was obviously the handiwork of forces encouraged by the alliance between the two Farooqs. But serious though this incident was, it cannot add up to the kind of indictment that the Congress (I) has been drawing up against Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Note has to be taken of the action that the Kashmir chief minister has taken against the ring leaders of the October 13 trouble as well as against the Akali extremists seeking sanctuary in Jammu and Kashmir.

#### Abdullah's Mistakes

In any case most senior Congress (I) leaders have sense enough to see the folly of dismissing the Kashmir government. But many of them are prepared to go along with the alternative stratagem of bringing down the Farooq Abdullah ministry through the time-honoured technique of encouraging defectors from the National Conference.

As usually happens in such circumstances in Indian politics, Dr. Abdullah has played into the hands of his opponents. A parting of the ways between him and his embittered brother-in-law, Mr. G. M. Shah, was perhaps inevitable because "Gulsha" feels cheated out of the office of chief minister. But surely it was not very clever of Dr. Abdullah to drive out of the National Conference a host of other senior leaders, including Mr. D. D. Thakur, as well and thus create a second front against himself.

However, it is one thing for Dr. Abdullah to come to grief because of his own mistakes or through the inner dynamics of the National Conference and quite another for the Congress (I) to be seen to be meddling with the National Conference for purposes of its own.

As a Kashmiri leader not particularly friendly to him put it, the main source of Dr. Abdullah's strength today is the constant attack to which he is being subjected by Mrs. Gandhi as head of the Congress (I). This attack is seen by almost all Kashmiris as an attack on Kashmir's *infradiyat* which can be translated as identity.

Dr. Farooq Abdullah's active participation in the conclaves of opposition leaders should be a point in his favour, for it brings into the national mainstream a chief minister of the once aloof state of Jammu and Kashmir. And yet such is the perverted logic of the inflamed politics in our country right now that hobnobbing with the opposition leaders is considered a grave lapse on his part.

The crowning irony of the situation is that at a time when the situation in Kashmir calls for cool and careful handling by the Centre, the corridors of power in New Delhi are singularly bereft of either administrators or politicians well versed in Kashmir affairs. Gone are the days of the glittering galaxy of old Kashmir hands. Today the greatest Kashmir "expert" at decision making levels is Mr. M. L. Fotedar. This fact speaks for itself.

CSO: 4600/1292

RAJIV OPENS AICC-I SEMINAR IN DELHI

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 13 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 12--Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, AICC(I) general secretary, today sought to confirm reports that the Punjab terrorists were getting training in camps set up in Pakistan.

He also said that there were four or five similar camps in Jammu and Kashmir.

Inaugurating a seminar on "unity, stability and development" organised by the AICC (I) Vichar Vibhag, Mr. Gandhi said, in view of this, it was the duty of the Akalis to isolate the extremists if they were to prove their bona fides as nationalists. Otherwise, they would be accused of being in league with secessionists and anti-national elements.

He pointed out that both Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir being sensitive border states, any developments in these two states militating against the integrity of the nations were naturally a matter of grave concern.

Mr. Gandhi criticised the Jammu and Kashmir chief minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, for the manner in which he treated Congress (I) workers during the recent Jammu bandh. He said that the 1925 Police Act for dealing with hardened criminals was invoked against his party workers.

Doctors at the hospital in Jammu had refused to treat those injured during the bandh. He accused Dr. Abdullah of flouting even basic norms in dealing with his opponents.

CSO: 4600/1280



## CORRESPONDENT REPORTS PAKISTAN TROOPS 'ACTIVE' ON BORDER

Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Nov 83 p 1

[Text]

## SRINAGAR, Nov. 12

Pakistan's armed forces are active on the 750 km line of actual control separating the Indian and Pakistan-occupied areas of Kashmir, in what seems to be preparations for a fresh bid to grab the rest of Kashmir. The Pakistanis have also launched a new wave of sabotage and subversive activities through their agents in Jammu and Kashmir, perhaps to create an impression on the eve of their nefarious action that the people of the State had launched a revolt against India.

When this correspondent visited some border areas early this month, one could see easily the Pakistani air and ground forces engaged in extraordinary war exercises, constructing new bunkers and digging trenches. Almost all the 10,000 villages on the Pakistani side of the line of control were deserted; the residents had all been evacuated.

The Pakistani forces with the assistance of Chinese military engineers have laid a network of strategic metal roads which now connect all the forward defence pockets not easily accessible earlier. Besides these roads all along the line of control bordering Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh, over 20 new airstrips and helipads are coming up.

Spate of blasts: The border developments assume significance with the spate of bomb explosions in Jammu and Kashmir since August 15. On August 14, Pakistan's independence day, some Pakistani elements hoisted their national flags in some parts of the Kashmir Valley.

The Jammu and Kashmir Government claimed that all Pakistani saboteurs had been held after the first bomb exploded in a sports stadium here during the Independence Day parade injuring eight people, including a school-girl who lost her eyesight in the blast.

But hardly a fortnight later, another bomb exploded in the toilet of the India Coffee House here rocking the entire civilian area. None was injured. Later, a live bomb was recovered near the strategic Tawi bridge in Jammu city on the Pathankot-Jammu National Highway.

Then in the last week of October, there was a third blast within the premises of the well-guarded official residence of a senior High Court Judge, Mr. Justice Ajarsh Sein Anand. The rear wall in the groundfloor of the building cracked and all the window panes were smashed. The occupants however, escaped injury.

The Pakistani elements also

made a well-organised bid to scuttle the one-day international cricket match between India and the West Indies on October 13 in the Sher-e-Kashmir cricket stadium.

Jammu bandh: To draw attention to these developments and protest against the ruling National Conference's failure to end these growing anti-India activities, the Opposition, Congress (I) and the Panthers' party organised a one-day bandh in Jammu city and other important towns of Jammu region on November 7. The bandh was almost complete and peaceful, barring a few violent incidents.

Soon after, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi sent her son and one of the Congress (I) General Secretaries, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to study the situation in the State. Mr. Gandhi who arrived here on November 10, said before his return to Delhi that the "situation in Jammu and Kashmir is dangerous and intolerable".

Pakistanis held: The Jammu and Kashmir police arrested three Pakistani nationals last evening from Panjali village in Poonch district. (reports UNI). The three were identified as Mohammed Rafiq, Mohammed Sadiq and Mohammed Azam. A revolver with Pakistani marking and currency notes worth Rs. 6,000 were seized. Interrogation is on.

## KASHMIR LEADER JOINS DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Nov 83 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 13--SYED Mir Qasim, who resigned from the Congress (I) recently, following differences over the party's approach to political developments in Jammu and Kashmir, today announced that he was joining the Democratic Socialist Party led by Mr. H. N. Bahuguna.

"We have found complete agreement in our approach and understanding of the problems and the solutions", the Kashmir leader said.

At a joint press conference addressed by them, Mr. Bahuguna welcomed the announcement, saying, "Syed Mir Qasim has done us an honour which we accept in all humility."

The Kashmir leader recalled the developments which preceded and followed his resignation from the Congress(I) and charged that the "value system which would have been able to sustain Indian unity and dignity is being continuously undermined by Congress(I) politics."

Both he and Mr. Bahuguna underlined the importance of the National Conference in the Kashmir context and pledged their support to that organisation "in the national interest and not for any quid pro quo."

The pointed out that their party (DSP) would have no separate unit in the state but only individual members.

Syed Mir Qasim stated that he had discussed issues relating to domestic and foreign policies with Mr. Bahuguna and found "we share the same views."

He said: "I trust and believe that Mr. Bahuguna and myself and other members of the DSP, in co-operation with other constituencies of the United Front and left and democratic parties and forces represented by the CPI and CPM, will be able to work together for generating conscious political forces to prevent dangerous trends threatening Indian polity. This will be a struggle against revivalism, for a new value system for making social and economic equality real and to assert the dignity of man."

PTI adds: Mr. Bahuguna said Mr. Qasim has been admitted in the DSP but his position in the party hierarchy would be decided soon by the party itself in consonance with his stature as one of the "tallest national leaders."

Mr. Bahuguna said his party had also admitted to its fold Mr. Mohan Chagani, a former congressman and former transport minister of Rajasthan, and Mr. Motilal Misri, a political leader from Jammu and Kashmir. Both of them were present at the press conference.

UNI adds: Syed Mir Qasim said that he and Mr. Bahuguna broadly agreed with the foreign policy pursued by the government. They were convinced that the present policy of "non-alignment based on anti-imperialism including neo-colonialism" would ultimately be abandoned because of the government's "policy of dependent economic development."

CSO: 4600/1282

## MIDEAST EMBASSIES IN NEW DELHI TIGHTEN SECURITY

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 11 Nov 83 p 10

[Text] Many West Asian embassies in New Delhi tightened security measures following last month's assassination attempt on Jordanian Ambassador Mohammed Al Khourma reports UNI.

Dozens of police and plainclothesmen have been posted at all Arab missions as a precautionary measure. Visitors are being thoroughly checked.

An unidentified gunman had fired six shots at the Ambassador outside the embassy at Malcha Marg last month. Mr Khourma, who was seriously injured, and his family have since left for Jordan. Similar attacks were made on Jordanian diplomats in Rome and Athens soon after the New Delhi incident.

Security arrangements have also been stepped up at the British and American schools where children of most of the diplomats study. The envoys of Kuwait, Iraq and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have got armed police posted at their residence.

Iraq has also deployed its own securitymen in and around its embassy and at its ambassador's residence. Round-the-clock vigil is maintained at these places against any attack by 'Iranian terrorists.'

Iraqi officials have alleged that 'Iranians' tried to blow up the Iraqi Airways office at Kasturba Gandhi Marg. In January last an explosion destroyed the front portion of the building, housing the airlines office.

Some of the missions located in south Delhi used to engage private security agencies to look after their security. But after the killing of the Kuwaiti diplomat, Mr Mazrook, by an unidentified assailant last year, some missions requested the Indian Government to provide security guards.

The government has posted men of the para-military forces at the embassies of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait Iraq, Iran and Libya.

CSO: 4600/1283

## REPORTS, COMMENTS ON PAKISTAN DEVELOPMENTS

## Gilgit Dinner, Border Buildup

Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 10.

The hosting of a dinner by the Pakistan President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, for the Islamabad-based diplomatic corps in Gilgit in occupied-Kashmir is being considered by the Government of India as a provocative act.

An official spokesman, who deplored this Pakistani move, said the choice of Gilgit as a venue for this dinner, like the earlier nomination of three observers from occupied-Kashmir to the Majlis-e-Shoora, the National Assembly, was not conducive to the improvement of Indo-Pakistani relations.

It was the first time in eight years that the Pakistan President has hosted a dinner for the diplomatic corps outside Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. The obvious purpose of having this dinner in Gilgit was to give these foreign diplomats a glimpse of the Karakoram highway built with Chinese assistance.

**Envoy's action upheld:** The Government has fully upheld the refusal of the Indian Ambassador, Mr. K. D. Sharma, to join this party in Gilgit. According to reports from Islamabad, 45 Ambassadors and their wives were flown from Rawalpindi to Gilgit on November 8 in the President's special aircraft for this gala occasion. They were given an aerial tour of the Gilgit Valley and the snow-clad Hunza and Skardu skyline after overflying the Nanga Parbat, the highest peak in this area of towering mountain ranges.

The Government of India had strongly protested not only against the construction of the Karakoram highway through occupied Kashmir, but also the Pakistani decision to detach Gilgit, Hunza and Skardu which were a part of the Jammu and Kashmir State and treat them as a separate northern area in which the adjoining former princely domains of Chitral and Swat have been included to make this an administrative unit. The Pakistan Government had also ceded some territory to China in the vicinity of the Khunjerab and Mintaka passes in occupied Kashmir to establish this land link across the Karakoram.

**Serious view:** The choice of Gilgit for hosting this controversial dinner would not have normally attracted much attention, if it had not come in the wake of the new strains developing in Indo-Pakistani relations. Apart from making a pro-forma protest, India has taken a serious view of this episode since it is considered to be a calculated attempt to cause unnecessary embarrassment.

There have been some disquieting reports that at several places along the border, the Pakistani troops have moved out from their nearby cantonments to what are called concentration points in military parlance. The Indian authorities have been keeping a close eye on these troop movements, which have been followed by field exercises both on the ground and in the air.

It is against this background that the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, talked of the dangers of war looming again. The Indian armed forces are watching these Pakistani moves carefully without over-reacting to them.

**Perilous course:** It would not make much sense for Gen. Zia and his advisers to embark on any adventurism at this stage unless they are pushed into it by force of circumstances. But no responsible military leader would embark on this perilous course and risk massive retaliation unless one is under irresistible pressure to resort to some such gamble to divert attention from the deepening public discontent on his home front.

The bulk of the U.S. arms aid promised has not yet reached the Pakistan Army, Navy and Air Force which are going through modernisation. The six F-16s that have so far been delivered out of the 40 promised by the U.S. will not make much difference until the radar and other ground control systems have been installed and the missiles supplied for use in battle. The Harpoons and other weaponry will not be available for quite some time for augmenting the striking power of its naval arm.



But if it chooses to take the plunge, Pakistan still has the capacity to make some surprise thrusts, provided it is prepared to pay the price for it. Along the 1,200 km border from Kashmir through Punjab to Rajasthan, where at least 15 divisions are stationed on either side, it would not be difficult to attack at one or two chosen points to create a crisis situation.

An effective deterrent against any such action can be provided only by a matching readiness to strike back in massive retaliation. And this is the best guarantee against the danger of yet another Indo-Pakistani conflict.

#### Minister on Arms Buildup

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Nov 83 p 5

[Text] Pakistan was continuing her efforts to acquire uranium enrichment and nuclear fuel reprocessing capability to detonate a nuclear device, Minister of State for Defence K P Singh Deo said on Tuesday, report agencies.

Pakistan was also acquiring sophisticated arms and equipment from the US, China and all other countries which would substantially augment its offensive capability, Mr Singh Deo told the Rajya Sabha.

He assured members that the Government was keeping all developments impinging on the country's security under constant watch and was taking appropriate measures to maintain all defence preparedness.

He said Pakistan was making efforts to acquire advanced aircraft, tanks, armoured personnel carriers, guns, missiles artillery and air defence systems in addition to some anti-tank weapons, naval missiles and communication equipment.

Available information also suggests that Pakistan is continuing its efforts to acquire uranium enrichment and nuclear fuel reprocessing capability which will enable it to detonate a nuclear device.

Mr Singh Deo said there were reports of Pakistan making serious efforts to procure advanced weapons systems including Mave rick missiles from US.

The Government had also seen press reports that Pakistan was making efforts to acquire maritime reconnaissance aircraft.

He said that the Government had seen press reports on the

subject of Pakistan having acquired six-gearing class destroyers armed with Harpoon missiles, F-16 aircraft, Mirage III and V fighter bombers and hawkeyes airborne early warning aircraft. The acquisition of such sophisticated powerful vessels and aircraft will considerably increase its striking power.

#### TROOPS

Mr Singh Deo said there was no information to suggest any recent unusual concentration of Pakistani troops along the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir. However, Pakistani troops usually conduct training exercises close to the border during October-December every year.

There had been a few cases of unprovoked firing by Pakistani troops from across the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir during September-October this year, he added.

## Meaning of Border Exercises?

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Nov 83 p 8

[Article by Inder Malhotra]

[Text]

**W**HEN, just over three months ago, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) began in Pakistan, two diametrically opposed forecasts were being made. In both there was an element of wishful thinking. It seemed, however, that logically one or the other prognosis must be borne out before long. But presumably because life seldom submits to the dictates of logic, both the predictions have been disproved. One of these was that events would move rather fast and the fate of the military regime, headed by General Zia-ul-Haq, would be sealed; the other that the movement, practically confined to Sind, would be crushed quickly, enabling the military rulers to revert to business as usual.

Neither situation obtains in Pakistan today or is likely to in the near future. Even those who cannot help thinking in terms of repetition of history must recognise that the mass upsurge against President Ayub Khan in 1968-69 had lasted eleven months and the army leadership, the final arbiter in Pakistan at least since the late fifties, having first stood on the sidelines, had later actively turned against him and had thus clinched the issue. In the present case, the army generals, most of them Gen. Zia's partners in the anti-Bhutto coup of 1977, are standing by him, at any rate so far.

On the other hand, far from subsiding, the popular struggle for the restoration of democracy goes on, no matter what gloss Gen. Zia and his propaganda machine might try to put on the situation. Sind remains the principal arena of the MRD agitation. But other provinces, including the critically important Punjab, are no longer unaffected. In fact, the intensity of the agitation in Sind has come down somewhat and that in the NWFP, Baluchistan and even Punjab has increased. In the view of some sober Pakistan watchers, Punjab's position is that it has not yet decided to turn on Gen. Zia though the stage when it could be said to be actively supporting him is long past.

It is no mere coincidence that the officially sponsored Tehrik-e-Himayat-e Zia (movement in support of Zia) has miserably failed to get off the

ground. Even more revealing is the fact that no political party worth the name is prepared to talk to Gen. Zia any longer. Mr. Shah Ahmed Noorani, leader of the Jamiat-ul Ulema-i-Pakistan who had embarked on a dialogue with Gen. Zia has not only broken off the talks but announced that his party would start "direct action" of its own from Friday.

### General Rattled

Air Marshal Asghar Khan, the leader of Tehrik-e-Istiqlal, under detention for years, received Gen. Zia's chief of staff, Lt-Gen. K. M. Arif, but declined to enter into any negotiations with the Zia regime. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan refused even to meet Gen. Zia's emissary.

It is in the context of the uneasiness underlying this situation that the extraordinary reaction of Gen. Zia, to say nothing of his cohorts, to a simple statement by Mrs. Gandhi, expressing sympathy for the struggle for democracy in Pakistan makes sense. At one stage the normally suave general seems to have been so rattled that he burst into wholly uncharacteristic barrack language. He talked of the MRD being "no bloody business of Mrs. Gandhi." Later, in an interview to Mr. George Verghese, editor of the *Indian Express*, he at least reverted to normal politeness and opined that Mrs. Gandhi had either been "taken for a ride" by some parties in Pakistan or was speaking out "because of her own electoral considerations". It is difficult to determine what influenced Gen. Zia's statement more: his distaste for the electoral process or his dislike of Mrs. Gandhi.

However, when all is said and done, how does a statement that India would like to see democracy flourish in its neighbourhood become an interference in any neighbouring country's internal affairs? President Reagan, a close friend of the Pakistani military junta, may have other ideas, as he has so clearly demonstrated in Grenada. But India does not believe in exporting democracy, leave alone wanting to impose it on anybody.

And yet such are the incongruities of the subcontinent that Gen.

Zia has more friends and supporters in the city of Delhi alone than probably among the civilian population in the whole of Pakistan. There can be no other explanation for the fact that Mrs. Gandhi's statement in support of democracy is being denounced more sharply in India than in Pakistan, outside the official circles and officially controlled media. Some who ought to have known better have even deplored the concern expressed by the Prime Minister over the cruel incarceration of the 92-year-old Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the last of the towering leaders of the freedom struggle, happily still with us though in extremely frail health!

In a different category, however, is Mrs. Gandhi's speech last week at Kurukshetra warning of not only war clouds "on the Indian horizon" but also of threats of war "from across the border."

### Scare Unwarranted

A gathering of grassroots Congress (I) workers in a Haryana town was not perhaps the best forum to pronounce on intricate problems of international relations and defence. Nor was the situation improved by the rather ambiguous Hindi vocabulary chosen by the Prime Minister which was translated into English by the media in something of a hurry.

The scare that the speech thus created on both sides of the subcontinental divide was therefore as unfortunate as it was avoidable. For both India and Pakistan know that neither has anything to gain from a renewed clash of arms. In fact, both know also that neither is in a position to go to war with the other. Except in the event of a total eclipse of sanity by utter irrationality, another Indo-Pakistani war ought to be ruled out.

But having said this one must hasten to add that, in international relations in general and in the extremely complex India-Pakistan relations in particular, every often policies and pronouncements are influenced more by what is under the surface than by what lies above it. On the day Mrs. Gandhi spoke at Kurukshetra, she knew, even if others did not, that practically all along the border the Pakistani army had moved from cantonments to advanced positions. This fact was reported only in *The Hindu* November 11 in a despatch from New Delhi by Mr. G. K. Reddy who indicated that the Prime Minister might be reacting to this development coming on top of several other disturbing

incidents such as ominous statements in the nominated Majlis-e-Shoora and the provocative dinner for the diplomatic corps hosted by Gen. Zia at, of all places, Gilgit.

Now, as the minister of state for defence, Mr. K. P. Singh Deo, said in parliament on Tuesday, this is the season of military exercises in both India and Pakistan. Therefore the Pakistani troops close to the Indian frontier may well be engaged only in exercises and training, especially with a view to familiarising the men with the newly acquired weapons from the U.S. But, as far as can be ascertained, Mr. Singh Deo's brief statement is not the final word on the subject and that others in a position to judge or view the situation differently which once again underscores that inscrutable are the ways of the government of India whose right hand does not know what the left one is doing.

For while exercises and training are certainly on across the border, the pattern of deployments for this purpose is different this year from the past. So is their scale. Pakistan's army is organised into seven corps. Of these as many as four are now engaged in exercises along the border. Similarly, the unprovoked Pakistani firing along the line of control in Jammu and Kashmir in the Poonch sector is rather unusual in both intensity and frequency. All this naturally causes concern.

### Military Deployments

What motivates those in Islamabad who are masterminding this activity can only be conjectured. In this connection, an analysis by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) merits attention though, of the half a dozen possibilities it envisages, some can be dismissed. For instance, it seems far-fetched to argue that the military deployments may be connected with the detonation of a Pakistani nuclear device which, even according to U.S. sources, is in the offing.

More to the point may be a combination of some of the other possibilities mentioned by the IDSA which can be broadly divided into two categories, internal and external. If, as seems likely, the Zia government is planning a massive crackdown on the continuing MRD agitation, the present deployments will surely enable the troops to be present in sufficient numbers where they might be needed the most. They have also made it possible for the authorities to maintain the vital lines of communi-

cation between Karachi and Lahore which, until recently, used to be disrupted by the agitators with apparent ease.

The external factor, paradoxical though it may seem, has more to do with West Asia than South Asia. During his recent visit to Pakistan, the U.S. defence secretary, Mr. Caspar Weinberger, did two things. Publicly, he denounced the MRD agitation as Soviet-inspired which should explain why so many stars and stripes have been burnt in Pakistan, especially in Sind. Privately, he discussed with the Pakistani generals contingency plans for the Gulf region. The U.S. having taken care of

the PLO factor in Lebanon up to a point may well be turning its attention to the Gulf, particularly to the possibility of the closure of the Straits of Hormuz by Iran. The Gulf cooperation council has spoken of instant retaliation against any such step. But it knows that it and the U.S. cannot act by themselves and would need the Pakistani military muscle. In case Pakistan is thinking of collaborating with the U.S. in the Gulf, a decision on its part to ensure the Indian flank would make sense. It is perhaps no mere coincidence that some Pakistani naval vessels have of late moved close to the Hormuz Straits.

### Editorial on Relations

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Nov 83 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

*The Washington Post* has quoted a Pakistani diplomat in India as having said: "There seem to be second thoughts on the Indian side about normalising relations. Maybe they think Zia-ul-Haq is going to be forced out and there is no point in talking to him now". The statement is inaccurate on a number of counts. The relations between India and Pakistan are fairly normal; they do not need to be "normalised"; the two countries maintain full diplomatic relations. Pakistan imposes certain limitations on these relations — in respect of trade and posting of newspaper correspondents, for instance. But it has its own reasons for doing so and India is willing to live with these restrictions and can do so without too much inconvenience. Islamabad has been keen on a no-war pact. It cannot claim that New Delhi was enthusiastic about it at any stage. Though India has proposed a treaty of friendship and co-operation instead, it has done so mainly in order to avoid the charge of intransigence. As for the latter and more substantial part of the statement attributed to an unnamed Pakistani diplomat, it is difficult to say whether New Delhi has in fact concluded that General Zia is going to be forced out. But surely even if it took the opposite view, it would be ill-advised to seek his friendship. This would cost it dear — the goodwill of the people of Pakistan who have demonstrated in a most convincing manner their abhorrence of the regime and their determination to get rid of it. No Indian government in its sense would wish to pay such a heavy price for the dubious honour of shaking the General by the hand.

India, it is hardly necessary to say, has not appointed itself as the guardian of democracy and human rights in the region. It is not another America or Russia which feels entitled to send its forces into neighbouring countries to protect "democracy" or "socialism". It has no choice but to deal with dictatorships of different hues. There are

too many of them in the world and this country happens to be surrounded by them on all sides. As a democracy, it is naturally interested in the liberties of other peoples, especially those who were not long ago part of united India. But that has not prevented it from dealing with generals in office either in Pakistan or Bangladesh. But it cannot possibly side with them against their people at least when the latter are engaged in a bitter fight for their rights as the people in Pakistan are right now. General Zia is understandably interested in creating the impression of business as usual both at home and abroad. But his interests and ours cannot be said to coincide. That much should be obvious even to those who are so opposed to Mrs. Gandhi that they regard her expression of concern for human rights in Pakistan as a form of intervention. It is possible that General Zia will survive. But that possibility should not persuade New Delhi to act in a manner that will tilt the balance within Pakistan in his favour.

CSO: 4600/1273



## PLANS FOR LARGE IMPORTS OF CRUDE OIL TOLD

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Nov 83 pp 1, 9

[Article by G. K. Pandey]

[Text] NEW DELHI, November 16--INDIA will need to import 14.55 million tonnes of crude and five million tonnes of petroleum products during 1984 at an estimated cost of about Rs. 1,350 crores despite an increase in the domestic production, it is reliably learnt.

The political affairs committee of the Union cabinet is expected to approve the energy ministry's current proposal in this regard by the end of the month.

After this the Indian Oil Corporation, the canalising agency will negotiate and sign agreements with the supplier countries. The agreements are expected to be concluded before December-end to maintain continuity of supplies.

## Deal With Iraq

During 1983, the import of crude will be around 15 million tonnes and 5.2 million tonnes of products. The imports also include 400,000 tonnes of additional crude from Iraq as part of the recent agreement.

Under this agreement, Iraq had agreed to supply to India an additional one million tonnes of crude in lieu of payments due to Indian companies operating in that country. On account of the liquidity problem, which Iraq is facing because of its war with Iran, India had agreed to this arrangement. The balance 600,000 tonnes, will arrive next year.

According to indications available here, the government is likely to stick to its earlier policy of crude purchases on a government-to-government basis. To take advantage of the possible easy market conditions, no contract will be signed for about 1.5 million tonnes during 1984.

The sources of crude supplies in 1984 will also continue to be the same as the current year. But the quantities to be imported will vary because of marginally lesser imports and in view of the decision to provide for spot purchases.

The government is believed to be awaiting indications regarding the quantum of Soviet crude supplies in 1984. During the current year, the Soviet Union had

agreed to enhance its crude supply from the 2.5 million tonnes agreed upon earlier by another one million tonnes to correct the adverse balance of payments with India. If the Soviet Union agreed to maintain its supplies at the current year's level some adjustment will become necessary in imports from elsewhere.

There will, however, be no reduction in imports from Saudi Arabia because the Arabian crude is ideally suited for the Indian refineries and there is considerable saving on freight.

During the current year, India will save more than Rs. 6 crores on freight alone because of the larger imports from Saudi Arabia. Apart from the directly contracted supply of 1.75 million tonnes, the Soviet Union, Iraq and the U.S. company, Exxon, have made despatches from a Saudi Arabian port.

India had contracted to import 3.5 million tonnes of crude from the Soviet Union, 3.5 million tonnes from Iraq, 3.4 million tonnes from Iran, 0.5 million tonnes each from Abu Dhabi, Nigeria and Exxon this year.

In addition, a million tonnes of the Bombay High crude had been swapped with crude of a variety suitable for our refineries. Of the import of 5.2 million tonnes of petroleum products, 2.3 million tonnes have been imported under trade protocol with the Soviet Union and the balance from the spot market.

A similar pattern will be followed next year, but in the case of crude supplies the government has decided not to seek imports through Exxon.

Meanwhile, inquiries here have revealed that the current year will end with an overall increase of 5.5 per cent in the demand for petroleum products over the preceding year.

During 1983, the estimated demand for petroleum is 36.15 million tonnes. It is expected to rise to about 39 million tonnes during 1984-85--an increase of about seven per cent. The consumption of kerosene and high-speed diesel oil is, however, expected to increase by eight per cent.

The crude oil supply in 1983 from indigenous sources is estimated at 25.4 million tonnes with BH contribution being 16.3 million tonnes. During 1984, the availability from within the country will go up to 28.6 million tonnes.

Because of the lack of processing facilities for the BH crude in the refineries, six million tonnes of it will have to be exported this year and 5.4 million tonnes next year. For the current year, contracts for 4.4 million tonnes of BH crude have already been concluded.

CSO: 4600/1295

## BRIEFS

DECEMBER BYELECTIONS--NEW DELHI, Nov. 15--Three parliamentary and nine Assembly by-elections in five States will be held on December 23, reports UNI. The Election Commission secretary, Mr K. Ganesan, told reporters here today that the parliamentary constituencies were Bettiah in Bihar, Sonapat in Haryana and Bulandshahr in Uttar Pradesh. The Assembly constituencies are Gurua in Bihar, Fatehbad in Haryand, Mandawa in Rajasthan, Pilibhit Siswa, Madhogarh, Fazilnagar and Tinwari in Uttar Pradesh and Kaliachak in West Bengal. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Nov 83 p 1]

SOVIET GAS OFFER--NEW DELHI, November 15 (PTI)--The Soviet Union has suggested that it could divert gas produced in the USSR to India and could even construct a gas pipeline to India for the purpose, the Lok Sabha was informed today. The minister of state for energy, Mr. Gargi Shankar Mishra, told Mr. Madhavrao Scindia in a written answer that during the commerce minister, Mr. V. P. Singh's visit to that country, the Soviet state planning committee chairman said the USSR was exploring the possibility of diverting the gas through the Central Asian region to India. The USSR could even consider constructing a gas pipeline from the Soviet Union if requirements of natural gas were identified by India, Mr. Singh was told. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Nov 83 p 5]

LETTER TO ASSAD--NEW DELHI, November 14--India's keenness is restoring unity among the ranks of the Palestine Liberation Organisation is understood to have been conveyed in a letter to the Syrian President, Mr. Hafez Assad, from the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. A similar letter was earlier sent to the PLO leader, Mr. Yasser Arafat, in which Mrs. Gandhi had expressed her anguish and distress over the PLO in-fighting. Supporters and opponents of Mr. Arafat have been engaged in grim fighting in northern Lebanon. Mrs. Gandhi is understood to have sought to impress on Mr. Assad that he could use his position of confidence and influence in the Arab world to restore unity in the PLO. Both Syria and the PLO are members of the non-aligned movement. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Nov 83 p 9]

PRO-'ARAFAT PROTEST--NEW DELHI, November 14--About 200 supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) chief, Mr. Yasser Arafat, today demonstrated outside the Syrian and Libyan embassies here, to protest against the two countries' support to PLO rebels. The demonstrators, who were all members of the General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS), carried placards which hailed

Mr. Arafat and denounced Syrian president, Mr. Hafez Assad, and Libyan leader, Mr. Gaddafi. The protestors first marched to the Syrian embassy in Vasant Vihar and then proceeded to the Libyan embassy in the Golf Links area. Security personnel and plainclothes men had been posted outside both the embassies. Meanwhile, the GUPS members who had occupied the Arab league office in Golf Links, on Saturday, vacated the premises last evening. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Nov 83 p 9]

FRONT PARLIAMENT WING--NEW DELHI, Nov. 14--The five-party United Front today constituted its parliamentary wing--the United Front Parliamentary Party--with the president of the DSP, Mr H. N. Bahuguna, as its chairman. The leader of the Janata Party Parliamentary Party, Mr Madhu Dandavate, will be the UFPP leader in the Lok Sabha and Mr A. G. Kulkarni of the Congress(S) will head it in the Rajya Sabha. The decision to form the UFPP was taken "unanimously" at a joint meeting of the members of Parliament belonging to the five constituents of the United Front--the Janata, the Congress(S), the DSP, the Janawadi Party and the Rashtriva Congress. The meeting was presided over by the Janata president, Mr Chandra Shekhar. The United Front will have a 67-member representation in Parliament, 38 in the Lok Sabha and 29 in the Rajya Sabha. Mr Subramanian Swamy, who was the deputy leader of the Janata Parliamentary Party in the Lok Sabha expressed his doubt about the durability of the United Front at the meeting of the party members today. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 15 Nov 83 p 1]

INDO-SWEDISH BUSINESS COUNCIL--NEW DELHI, Nov. 16--India and Sweden today moved towards further development of economic and commercial cooperation by setting up a joint business council. An agreement on this was signed here between the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the Swedish Trade Council. The signatories to the agreement, Mr Ashok Jain, president of FICCI, and Mr Arne Westerberg, head of a visiting Swedish delegation, expressed happiness over the formation of the business council. The joint council will contribute towards the removal of all obstacles in the development of cordial reciprocal relations. According to the agreement, the Indo-Swedish council will be the major agency to promote agreements between Indian and Swedish firms in sectors of the economic, industrial and technological cooperation (joint ventures, transfer of know-how and licence arrangements) and to strengthen bilateral economic relations. Mr Westerberg and Mr Sudhir Jalan will head the respective sections of the Indo-Swedish Joint Business Council. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 17 Nov 83 p 7]

ULTRASONIC TRANSDUCERS--Scientists at the National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi, have developed three different types of transducers of ultrasound. They are piezoelectric ceramic transducer, magnetostrictive horn-driven disc transducer and electrostatic transducer for use in air. Ultrasonic transducers have a wide variety of applications ranging from sensing and remote control to industrial processing. They have an inherent advantage in several useful applications where ordinary photo-electric cells operated by a beam of light cannot be used. There is also little hazard of a breakdown or clogging down due to atmospheric pollutants. The noise level is low and the beam can be effectively shaped and made directive. Piezoelectric ceramic transducers can be used for a wide variety of ultrasonic applications like sensing



automation, and remote control of various kinds such as for detection, counting and monitoring of objects on conveyor belts, door open devices, television switching and level monitoring. Horn disc transducers can be used for long range air sonars and high power ultrasonic radiators for killing bacteria, drying moist materials, repelling rodents; smoke and aerosol precipitation and emerging applications like levitation of objects for use in space research and metallurgy. Electrostatic transducers are very useful where wide band ultrasonic transmission and reception is required. Such systems have been used in NPL for designing instruments such as guidance equipment for the blind, system for level sensing, and study of architectural acoustic models. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Nov 83 p 18]

JAMMU KASHMIR FORESTS--JAMMU, Nov. 10--The Jammu and Kashmir Government has decided to nationalise its forests completely by the end of 1984 to preserve its forest wealth and improve the State's ecological condition. Announcing this decision after a State Cabinet meeting the Chief Secretary Mr. Noor Mahammad told newsmen that private extraction of timber and other forest products including resins would be completely stopped by the end of 1984. Mr. Mahammad also said it was decided that only 1.60 crore cubic ft of timber would be allowed to be extracted annually for commercial purposes as against the two crore cubic ft annually extracted till recently. The State Government had also decided that resin would be extracted from trees by introducing the most modern scientific methods so that it would not adversely affect the life of standing trees. In view of all these decisions no new forest lease would be sanctioned to any private forest lessee. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Nov 83 p 16]

INDO-SOVIET YOUTH CONTACTS--There will be greater cooperation and exchanges between Indian and Soviet youth organisations, following meetings between their representatives in Indian cities over the past few days. A delegation of the Komsomol, the Soviet youth organisation has been touring India for the past week or so. Its members have met representatives of several organisations including the All-India Youth Federation, All-India Students Federation, Democratic Youth Federation and the Indian Youth Congress. The delegation has come at the invitation of the AISF and the AIYF. At a press conference in the Capital on Thursday, leader of the delegation V I Mironenko, who is first secretary of the Ukraine republic Komsomol said that a major topic in the discussions with Indian youth leaders had been the peace movement. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Nov 83 p 12]

CSO: 4600/1296



## BRIEFS

**BASIJ WEEK UNITY PRAYERS--TEHRAN (IRNA)--**Forces of the 20-million-member army of the Basij (Mobilisation) took part in the Unity Prayers of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic at the Tehran University on the third day of the Basij Week yesterday morning. At 09:00 A.M., personnel of the Armed Forces, the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps (IRGC), Basij, the Army, the Gendarmerie, the Police, and the Islamic Committees, marched in a parade towards the Tehran University. The forces carried many placards reading "Our Unity Prayers is the Mourning of the Enemy", 'war, War, until Victory', and 'The Beloved Qods will be Freed'. They also chanted slogans pledging their allegiance with Imam Khomeini and urging Moslems to unite. The well-organised Basij Forces, carrying a big portrait of Imam Khomeini in front of them once again displayed their popular force with the presence of young and old members. Basij, being formed of people from various walks of life, has during the past four years proved that its members are the best volunteers to fight against international Zionism and imperialism, as well as their lackeys. The forces were warmly welcomed by the people, and the programmes to mark the third day of the Basij Week started at 09:30 A.M. with recitation of verses from Holy Qoran. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 83 p 1]

**COUNTRY FREE OF SUPERPOWERS--MASHAD--**Our nation can now rightfully claim that it now lives in total freedom unfettered by pernicious interference of the Superpowers", said the Imam's representative and the Superintendent of the Holy Shrine of Imam Reza Hojjatoleslam Wa'ez Tabasi. He was addressing a group of jet fighter pilots from Dezful Air Base who called on him yesterday, IRNA reported. He said that the country would not have faced opposition from all imperialist powers had it not pursued freedom in the line of Islam. Tabasi added that the Iranian people considered the issue of independence and fighting for the protection of the country as an Islamic obligation of theirs and thus, he said, now power could ever pose any danger to the freedom of the Iranian people. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 83 p 1]

**PERSIAN GULF SPURNS GUARDIANSHIP--TEHRAN (IRNA)--**The Islamic Republic of Iran would bury the dreams of the Superpowers in the waters of the Persian Gulf, said Captain Ahmadi, the commander of the Naval Base in Bushehr and Kharg, in an interview with daily Jomhuri Eslami, published yesterday. Captain Ahmadi referred to naval strength of the country, recalling the brilliant operations on Sept. 28 by the Iranian Navy which destroyed the Iraqi jetties of Albakr and Al-Omayyeh. On the recent U.S. threats in the region, he said that the

people there were quite vigilant and did not need any such guardians as the U.S. "The Persian Gulf belongs to these people and they can maintain its security better than any other country." Concluding he said that the people must curtail the hands of the aggressors from the region. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 83 p 1]

AMBULANCES FOR WAR FRONTS--TEHRAN--In a statement released here yesterday, the Archdiocesan Council of Tehran's Armenians called on Armenian citizens to contribute to a fund for the supply of a number of ambulances to be dispatched to the war fronts, IRNA reported. The communique said that the move would be another step "in displaying the unity of Armenian citizens with their Moslem brothers" and that it would also serve to "perpetuate the memory of Armenian youth who assumed the rank of martyrs for protection of the country against the Ba'athist enemies shoulder to shoulder with the combatants of Islam." The statement also called on Armenian technicians and industrial experts to register with the Archdiocesan Council for cooperating in technical and industrial activities behind the lines. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 83 p 1]

CSO: 4600/179

# MINISTER SAYS GOVERNMENT PROBING INTO SIND DISTURBANCES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] LAHORE, Nov. 20--Mr. Elahi Bux Soomro, Federal Minister for Industries has hinted that the government is probing into the motives behind the current movement launched by MRD and reasons for its confinement to the province of Sind only.

Talking informally to newsmen after inaugurating a seminar at a local hotel here this morning, the Minister said government apprehended 'foreign hand' in the movement and did not rule out the possibility of involvement of Hindus in that province. The Minister claimed that the situation in Sind was settling down because of 'appropriate measures' taken by the provincial government, refuting reports of disconnection of power and water or shelling to force the people to disassociate from the nine party movement.

Answering a question, the Minister said, the inhabitants of the troubled province of Sind were responsible for the 61 deaths, which according to government statistics occurred in the southern part. He, however did not indicate what action government was contemplating against persons responsible. "We do not know who caused the deaths", he said while answering yet another question.

The Industries Minister lashed out at the processionists and said how can the armed processions be named as political processions. The processionists main targets were banks, jails and the police stations. The people whose records were burnt in the banks are suffering today, he added.

Mr. Soomro clarified that no private property was damaged as a result of this movement and that only the public property was the target of the processionists.

He expressed his ignorance of the magnitude of loss rendered to the public property in Sind.

He said the Movement caused disruption in the means of communications but the same had been restored now.

The MRD movement did not have significant effect on the national economy and said, "we are doing well."

AGENCIES ADD: Emphasising that the vandalism of the MRD in certain parts of Sind was uncalled for, the Minister said, the three main demands of the MRD-- the restoration of democracy, lifting of Martial Law and revival of the 1973 Constitution were equally being stressed by some political circles in the country but they had not resorted to subversion.

Mr. Soomro said healthy political activity permitted only peaceful demonstrations and processions and events of looting and arsoning and taking out armed procession could not be termed as politics.

Replying to a question, the Minister said, the people in Sind did not believe in Sindhu Desh and throughout the recent disturbances the slogans of 'Jaya Sind' had never been raised by the masses. This was evident from the fact that the agitation had subsided, he added.

CSO: 4600/167

FORMER LAW MINISTER ON PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY, 1973 CONSTITUTION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 p 6

[Interview with Hafeez Pirzada by Maleeha Lodhi]

[Text] In an exclusive interview with the Muslim, given in London, Abdul Hafeez Pirzada explained the nature of the provincial autonomy question in the context of past and current developments in Pakistan, and revealed the background that led to the framing of the 1973 constitution.

Mr. Pirzada, who has been in the U.K. and the U.S. for the past few months undergoing medical treatment, said that he hopes to return to Pakistan as soon as treatment, was over. He stated that he had been in close touch with developments in Pakistan over the last three months, observing the situation with great concern.

Mr. Pirzada said that the demand for autonomy and a decentralised polity was not a phenomenon unique to Pakistan. It is evident in many parts of the world, but especially in south Asia, where India and Sri Lanka are seized of the problem. This signifies that people have historical and natural aspirations that cannot be simply satisfied with economic goods. In this context, he said, Pakistan has failed to reach a consensus on a type of polity that satisfies the various units within the federation.

Mr. Pirzada was asked whether the 1973 constitution, of which he was one of the main architects, represented a consensus on the autonomy issue that can be revived by restoring the document. He replied that the constitution certainly represented a measure of consensus at the time of its adoption, but much had happened since, which had a direct bearing on that consensus. Moreover, he said, and this is what is really important, the formula for provincial autonomy embodied in the 1973 constitution did not wholly satisfy any of the various parties involved in the constitutional negotiations. The consensus, he said was illusory. It was based on certain guarantees and verbal promises given by his party, that were never implemented as a result of the unfortunate confrontation that developed between the PPP and NAP. These guarantees focused on central authority being subjected to dilution after ten years or two general elections: for example all subjects on the concurrent legislature list were to be devoted exclusively to provincial governments. The centre's



emergency powers were to be sharply curtailed (again after a similar period of time); the way this was to work was by vesting these powers in the President, advised by and with the consent of the Senate (in which of course all four provinces had equal representation) Pirzada said he could give more such examples of the nature of guarantees and oral promises but these were sufficient as an illustration. 'One must admit our mistake', he said, in not being able to implement the various provisions relating to provincial autonomy in the 1973 constitution' (e.g. the way the Council of Common Interests whose members included the Chief Ministers of the four provinces--was to function), as well as those envisaged in oral assurances. According to him, the first severance occurred with the dismissal of the provincial government in Baluchistan. What followed is well known, he said, and while this is not the time to apportion blame, both sides have to some extent to share responsibility for the confrontation that ensued. He described the banning of NAP as 'a blunder'. However, he said, retrogression, as far as provincial rights was concerned, came with the imposition of martial law, in 1977. The Frontier province and Baluchistan were already alienated, but now Sind too has followed suit; Sind went into 'a fit of depression' after the traumatic events of 1977 and especially 1979.

Mr. Pirzada said that in today's context, in the aftermath of developments over the past few years and in the light of the current situation in Sind--because Pakistan is a multiethnic state--the only way to hold the country together is through "national democracy" wherein 'the federating units have equal participation and the authority of the Federal government is confined to the subject of defence, foreign affairs, currency and communications'. Pirzada emphasised that the formula provided in the 1973 constitution was no longer adequate.

This led the interviewer to ask Mr. Pirzada about the nature of the declaration that he along with Attaullah Mengal, Sadiq Ali and others who met in London, were due to announce, and about which there was much speculation in newspapers in Pakistan and abroad. In reply, Mr. Pirzada said that it represented an effort on the part of smaller provinces to achieve an 'identification'. The declaration is "a declaration of intent". We were ready to announce it, but there was a danger of its being misunderstood, so we decided to wait. We did not want to do anything that could harm the MRD movement or serve as a setback for the movement in Sind'. The declaration, said Pirzada, would be announced at an appropriate time, and 'to those who might have anxieties on this score let me say that we are not going to give notice of secession'; as the document 'contemplates the existence of a united Pakistan'.

Mr. Pirzada said that Pakistan's founding fathers were acutely aware of the multi-ethnic nature of the State--a fact that is clear from the way in which the 1940 Resolution was promulgated and phrased. But subsequently, after partition "a myth" was propagated that the Federation of Pakistan had brought the units into being." This misconception must be repudiated". What has to be accepted, he said, is the foundation of Pakistan on the voluntary association of the four provinces which calls for apportionment of power to the provinces and power to the federal authority.

Mr. Pirzada described talks between the present government and leaders of certain parties as 'meaningless'. 'We warned Noorani that he would be used, exploited, and discarded' he said. The talks have no significance, stated Pirzada. What is significant is the situation in Sind, which is pregnant with dire consequences.

Finally Pirzada, repeating a proposal that he made some time ago, said that an 'institutional revival' is necessary to put Pakistan back on the democratic path. One way to do this is to revive the Senate, in which all provinces have equal representation, and give it responsibility for supervising elections.

CSO: 4600/171

WEST GERMANY SAID SUPPORTING ENERGY DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 p 8

[Text] KARACHI, Nov. 24--The Federal Republic of Germany is willing and determined to support Pakistan achieve its sixth Five-Year Plan target for the generation and distribution of energy.

This was stated by the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Klaus Terfloth, while speaking on 'The international energy crisis: Impact and chances for Pakistan and Germany' at a dinner hosted last night by the Chairman of the Pakistan-FRG Trade and Industry Committee Farooq Dadabhoy, at his residence.

Co-operation in the energy sector, he said, included energy conservation, as well as development of traditional and new energy resources. To help Pakistan reduce the losses in power transmission, Germany supports the construction of the Mardan-Peshawar transmission line and the Burhan grid station. The construction of the Kot Addu thermal power plant will narrow the gap in electricity supply, he said.

He said by using modern technologies, traditional energy resources could be further developed. It was possible, he added, to get better production results from already exploited gas and oil fields, and advanced methods for oil and gas exploration could help to find new deposits in Pakistan.

For this reason, he said, the German government, among other projects, intends to support the Institute of Hydrocarbon Development.

Dr. Klaus Terfloth also disclosed that Pakistan and Germany would co-operate in developing such renewable energy resources as water sun, wind, biogas and wood. He said two programmes are planned to make use of small hydropower potentials in the NWFP and Punjab.

German technology is especially appropriate for the exploitation of these small potentials by using small hydropower plants at rivers and irrigation channels. Bio-gas projects form part of two integrated rural development programmes in Baluchistan and the NWFP, and afforestation measures are important components of German-Pakistani forestry projects at the Pakistan Forest Institute and in the Kaghan Valley.

The Ambassador was, however, of the view that co-operation in the energy sector need not necessarily be restricted to the government level. For example, adequate technology to use wind and sun energy has been developed by private German companies and could be used in remote areas of Baluchistan and NWFP.

It is, therefore, the understanding of the German government that to overcome energy problems not only should co-operation between governments be extended in future, but also co-operation between private companies should be encouraged, he said.

He said the worldwide energy crisis which began in November 1973 with the dramatic increase of prices for crude oil on international markets had adversely affected the German and Pakistani national economies.

Pakistan, he said, was being forced to use an ever-increasing part of its national income to pay the oil bill, which reduces the availability of funds for other sectors and thus endangers the development progress of the country.

He said to cope with the problems originating from the shortage of energy, Germany and Pakistan had a few indigenous energy resources which could only be developed with great effort. Therefore, the energy situation in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Pakistan was very similar, which was not a bad starting point for co-operation, he concluded.

Earlier, in his welcome address, Farooq Dadabhoy, said Pakistan welcomes German technological assistance in exploiting the full potential of such fields as hydel power, nuclear energy, solar energy and biogas energy.

He drew the Ambassador's attention to the steps taken by the present government to rejuvenate the private sector and the big allocation made for it under the sixth Plan. He said Pakistan offered the best possibilities for increased German investment and collaboration, because some German industries had already reached a saturation point at home, and their future markets lay in developing countries like Pakistan. He suggested that the German government sponsor a German investor's mission to Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/171

OFFICIAL TEAM TO NEGOTIATE FOREIGN COOPERATION ON SAINDAK COPPER PROJECT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, Nov. 24: Offers of technical and financial collaboration by foreign firms in the 400-million dollar Saindak Project would be negotiated in depth and details by a three-member Pakistani team of officials in its talks next week with a group of French and Canadian officials. May this year at the Quetta meeting of the Central Development Working Party presided over by Dr. Mahbubul Haq. These proposals, received in October this year, are now to be discussed in depth and details, before being submitted to the government for consideration.

The Pakistani officials are leaving here on Sunday for a three week trip that would carry them to France, Canada and subsequently to Finland and Yugoslavia. The Canadians and French would jointly serve as a lead group. The first stop-over of the officials would be Paris.

The team comprises, Mr. D. M. Qureshi, Managing Director, Bankers Equity, Mr. Rashid Habib, Chairman, Resource Development Corporation and RDC's Dr. Bilgrami.

Fresh offers were invited for participation of foreign firms in the project after it was approved in

A consortium of financial institutions and nationalised banks led by the Bankers Equity have agreed to provide some Rs. 1500 million after the project received approval of foreign consultants hired by the Pakistan Banking Council.

Similarly, a financial institution was entrusted to look at the report of a private consultants hired by the Planning Commission. It has submitted a favourable report.

The project has the support of President Ziaul Haq, Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Governor Rahimuddin who are all keen to accelerate the pace of economic development in Baluchistan.

CSO: 4600/171



NOORANI URGES PROBE INTO SIND EVENTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Nov 83 p 12

[Text] KARACHI, Nov. 23--Maulan Shah Ahmed Noorani, ha[s] called upon the government to constitute a commission headed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, with the Chief Justices of the four provinces as members to make a thorough inquiry into the alleged high-handedness of the law enforcing authorities against the people during the recent disturbances in Sind.

He was addressing a Press conference here today on behalf of Sind Unity Board. The delegation of the Board headed by the Moulana himself has returned from the interior of Sind only yesterday after completing a four-day study tour of the affected areas.

The Maulana said if the government did not announce the commission the Sind Unity Board would form a Commission of its own comprising retired High Court and Supreme Court judges and make an inquiry into the matter and publish the report.

He paid rich tributes to the people of Sind for their devotion to the cause of democracy in the country.

He disclosed that according to his assessment there were at least 10,000 law enforcing personnel posted in the three districts that is Dadu, Nawabshah and Hyderabad.

He observed that the people of Sind are struggling for the restoration of their rights and the rights of the people of the whole country.

The other members of the Board including Shah Faridul Haque, Mahmoodul Haq Usmani, and Haroon Ahmed were also present during the Press conference.

CSO: 4600/170

TRIBAL LEADER TALKS ABOUT BALUCHISTAN'S LACK OF INTEREST IN MRD MOVEMENT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] QUETTA, Nov. 20--Baloch tribal leader Sher Mohd. Khan Marri has stressed the need for an Amicable solution to the socio-economic problems faced by smaller Nationalities in order to deal successfully with the external dangers faced by the country.

Talking to 'The Muslim' here on Saturday, known as a leader of Baloch militant groups fighting against the previous regime in the interior of Baluchistan, said the internal solidarity that was essential for this purpose could only be brought about by recognising the equal cultural, historical and socio-economic rights of all living in the four provinces and by giving them equal representation in the federal political set-up.

He said the present peaceful law and order conditions prevailing in the province were due to the patience adopted by the Baluchies, who were doing their best to avoid being called insurgents, as they were called in the past. But at the same time he said, we are not prepared to accept the forcible administrative and political domination of others.

In reply to a question, he said, the demand for the restoration of democracy was not the problem of the rural population of Baluchistan but of the 'political champions' living in urban areas. "We, the downtrodden of remote areas, can understand and solve our problems ourselves in a better way than others. We are not to be guided by others for that," he said.

About development efforts being made in the province, he said 'the real development needed was that of Baluchistan's cultural, historical and natural resources. He said, "It should be our prerogative to determine others' share out of our ~~own~~ resources. It is for this that we have been struggling during the last 36 years and have faced police and military action three times".

The first one he said, was in 1948, after the accession of the former state of Kalat to Pakistan. The former Prince of Kalat, Agha Abdul Karim, and his companions, including Malik Saeed and Abdul Wahid Kurd, had to flee after that, and 400 persons were arrested by the then regime. Later, Agha Abdul Karim and some others were sentenced to 14 years imprisonment.

Again from 1959 to 1970, he said, we had to rise against dictatorship. Then from 1973 to 1977 we were fighting in the hills.

Sher Mohd. Marri called for an enquiry committee to be appointed at any level to probe into the cause of those punitive actions in order to determine responsibility. He said, "We are fully prepared to give our best assistance to such a committee. We would accept any punishment if found guilty after a thorough investigation made by that committee, and we would expect the same for others. The reports of the findings prepared by that committee should also be made public."

Answering another question. Sher Mohd Marri expressed ignorance about the reasons for which his movement had been restricted to the Quetta municipal area for three months from Sept. 16, this year by the administration. He said, "We can be called patriots only if we sit silent not asking for our rights".

He also displayed a lack of interest in the Aug. 12 political plan.

CSO: 4600/167

NOORANI SAYS HE IS NOT AFRAID OF CASES AGAINST HIM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] KARACHI, Nov. 25--Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, has said that Muslims are a civilised nation

He was addressing the second protest meeting at Jinnah mosque here today, at Burns Road, said to be the stronghold of JUP and Tehrik-e-Istiqlal during the 1977 elections.

He said that the problem the country was facing today could only be solved by an elected and representative government.

Citing examples from the Islamic history, he observed that the armed forces' role was to safeguard the borders.

He castigated those who opposed the use of mosques for political purposes and said "mosques had always been the centre of all our political, social and religious activities."

He said, "I am not afraid of cases registered against me for holding these meetings; I will continue to speak the truth even under the gallows."

The Maulana announced that the party was considering to hold protest public meetings and the announcement would be made in this connection very soon.

Shah Faridul Haque speaking on the occasion said that his party had tried all peaceful means to persuade the government to hold elections "We have been pushed to this and now it will continue till democracy is restored in the country." He also criticised the raise in the ghee prices. The leaders and workers of JUP wore black bands on their arms, as a mark of protest.

CSO: 4600/172

ARTICLE DISCUSSES PAKISTAN'S DEBACLE WITH DEMOCRACY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 Magazine p 1

[Article by Dr. Safdar Mahmood: "Are We Incapable of Democracy?"]

[Text] It is quite amazing when some of our political thinkers express their disillusionment about the future of democracy in our country. Apparently such thinking springs from the view that the majority of our countrymen are illiterate and lack the degree of political sophistication which is required for a successful democratic system.

This thinking leads to the somewhat 'logical' conclusion that in the absence of any other political system, an autocratic form of government is necessary for our survival. Is this the ultimate solution of our political problems? In such a system, if Yahya Khan steps in after Ayub Khan, then what would you do? In the case of the army's involvement in politics, who would defend the country? Our so-called political thinkers cannot answer these questions.

There is no denying the fact that Martial Law or any other form of military government is a temporary arrangement. Even the government in power admits that its continuation is not in our national interest. Ultimately the masses are destined to decide the nation's fate, and to defend and safeguard our national identity. No form of government can gain stability unless people of all the provinces are given due participation in the power structure of the country. The support of the masses is, therefore a prerequisite for stability. Why not take such steps which would develop political consciousness in the masses? During the past 36 years, whenever the ruling class tried to run to government with the support of non-representative advisory bodies disregarding the wishes of the people, instability has been the inevitable result

Consequently, the nation is caught in a vicious circle. If history repeats itself every half century in other countries, in Pakistan this period is reduced to 10 years. The first political agitation in 1958, 11 years after the state's creation, expressed disapproval of a non-representative leadership which aimed at perpetuating its power. The second agitation which flared up in 1968 against the dictatorship of Ayub Khan culminated in the assumption of power by Yahya Khan in 1969. In other words, the second wave of agitation arose after only 10 years. The third period of protest occurred during the Bhutto regime in 1977, reducing the era of stability to 8 years. With the MRD erupting in 1983, this period has been narrowed to 6 years. Thus, the interval of stability is continuously declining.



The objective of these political protests was none other than displacing unpopular governments which could not be changed through constitutional means. They were expressions of the people's lack of confidence in the ruling group. The chief demand of all such movements was for holding general elections. Unfortunately, these movements succeeded in changing the government while failing in their campaign for elections which was the real goal.

The nation is once again demanding elections, a fundamental human right. The number of attempts in Pakistan to overthrow unpopular governments is unprecedented in current history. No other nation has made so many sacrifices for demanding elections like the Pakistani nation. Why do the masses demand elections after every few years? Very simply, they want to elect their own representatives. Thus, it seems inaccurate and unfair to label the people incapable of launching movements against unrepresentative governments and demanding elections as immature in politics and incapable of democracy. Rather, such acts are the healthy signs of a politically awakened nation.

All of our rulers enter the scene with a message of salvation, but eventually, the nation starts planning to save itself from its saviour by resorting to agitation. This form of protest is necessary because we lack the tradition of a peaceful transfer of power, nor can masses exercise democratic means for change. If the people were certain that they could change the government after every five years, then there would be no need for unconstitutional means. Thus, the nation would be spared the losses of life, business and property which such agitations entail.

These peculiar circumstances assume disproportionate significance by creating political contradictions in our nation's history. Our past experience is that a leader who comes into power praises the revolutionary spirit, sense of sacrifice and political consciousness of the masses in the beginning. Surprisingly, in just a few years, he suddenly discovers that masses are illiterate, politically unsophisticated, and incapable of choosing the right type of leadership. Thus, he feels it necessary to reduce the electoral college.

This was Field Marshal Ayub Khan's modus operandi. At first praising the masses, he then imposed basic democracy, ostensibly because politically backward and illiterate masses were not fit to exercise the right of franchise. In fact, the B. D. system was devised because Ayub Khan realised that it was easier to control 80,000 B. D. members than 10 crore desperate people. History has repeated itself several times over. Every new ruler enters the arena riding on the horse of popularity. He takes his hat off to the masses who paved the way for him with their blood. When the masses lose confidence in him and reject his achievements, then it is revealed to him that they are politically backward and illiterate, and hence unfit for any democratic system.

In fact, this syndrome began with General Sikandar Mirza. Quaid-e-Azam never complained of the illiteracy and backwardness of the masses, although the illiteracy rates were much higher at that time. When Mountbatten wanted the Quaid to accept Pakistan immediately, Jinnah replied that he needed the approval of the Muslim League. Mountbatten remarked that he might lose Pakistan

in that case, Quaid's answered: "What must be, must be". His attitude, therefore, reflected supreme confidence in the Muslim masses.

Neither the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan nor any of his political successors, expressed doubt about the political judgement and democratic capability of our masses.

In the Pakistan Movement, the well-disciplined influential, and affluent Congress possessed a superior propaganda machinery and had the blessing of the British. The Muslim League, however, was split into factions, there were the Congressite Ulemas and the red-shirt regiment of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. There was also an army of well-disciplined intellectuals and religious scholars, from Ahrar to Congressite Muslim led by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who were constantly engaged in working for an independent united India. There was not a single orator of the calibre of Attaullah Shah Bukhari in Muslim League, who eventually admitted that the Muslims lent their ears to him but voted for the Muslim League. In this struggle for freedom, the Khaksars also participated. Why did the Muslims respond to the Muslim League, rejecting the Khaksars, Ahrar, the Jamaat-e-Islami, the Red-Shirts and the Congressite scholars? They did so because they were convinced that only the Muslim League could lead them to their true destiny. The Muslim masses could not fully understand the Quaid's language, and those in the rural areas had not even seen him. Yet they had complete and spontaneous confidence in him. Those who, in the critical period of our history, gave their verdict in favour of the Muslim League, rejecting all other political parties, are today considered incapable of electing a leader. How could the Muslim League, without popular support, have carved out an independent homeland? If they had not won victories in the 1945-46 elections in the Provinces and in the centre, the British would not have recognised the Muslim League as the only party representing Muslims of the Sub-Continent. History has proved that these verdicts of the masses were based on wisdom. Let the creators of Pakistan, therefore, run the government. Let them work. Let them build. Let them move forward without hindrance.

It is possible that a handful of the elite may not approve the decisions of the masses. Nevertheless, the wishes of the majority must be respected to build a stronger Pakistan. Whenever the minority has tried to force its decision on the majority, the consequences have been disastrous. If we fear that the masses will be misled by the 'cunning' politicians, then let it be so. Let us not deny them their natural right to learn by trial and error.

#### Poll Rigging

The masses did not participate in the political life of the country from 1947 to 1958 and then up to 1970. General elections took place in 1970 for the first time when the people voted for comparatively unknown candidates, electing a party and its egalitarian manifesto and not merely the personalities. Doubtless, the people voted for the P.P.P. to achieve Islamic 'Musawat' and economic justice. Although the nation had not previously experienced general elections, people were sensible enough to vote for an untried leadership and the party programme. When the P.P.P. flouted its own manifesto and restored to undemocratic politics, then those very masses launched a movement against

that government. The masses proved their political awareness by overthrowing the traditional politicians and electing educated young men of middle class families. That they were betrayed is not unusual; in the development of democracy, sometimes it does happen.

When the 1977 elections were rigged, the masses, steadfastly determined that their elected representatives would assume power, launched a movement against the P.P.P. This movement was so strong that Bhutto's P.P.P., Police, F.S.F and even other Security organs could not suppress it. According to a rough estimate, several hundred persons died during this movement. Is it not unfair to consider a nation, which is so conscious of its rights to franchise, to be incapable of democracy?

Today, our country is passing through a critical period. Disillusionment and doubt about the future have overtaken a confident nation, and provincialism is raising its ugly head. Having been declared unfit for elections on the basis of a single election, the people feel they have been denied their share of power. Experience has shown that the problem of national integration and provincialism cannot be resolved in Pakistan unless people are given a sense of participation in the power structure of country. This is the only way of uniting the nation; mere slogans of ideology and Islam have failed to integrate us in the face of harsh political and economic realities. Beset by internal and external dangers, continued domestic instability is liable to attract interested outsiders. A return to democracy must therefore be effected to forge a stronger Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/171

## NEGATIVE EFFECT OF POWER SHORTAGE ON INDUSTRIALIZATION DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by A. Hafeez Khan]

[Text] The growing shortage of natural gas and electric power in Pakistan seems to be forcing a reversal not only in the tempo of industrialisation but also in the pace of operating industrial units. The originally-determined viability of industrial units based on natural gas as fuel has now been shaf-fered while the future planning for expansion of existing units is facing upsets.

In so far as new industrial projects are concerned, official sanctions are held in abeyance until a green signal is given by the Ministry of Power and Fuel, and utility companies about the availability of gas and electricity in the location of a proposed project. Some of the more zealous sponsors plan additional capital expenditure for the installation of power generators along-with a proposed project. As a result, the initial capital expenditure on the establishment of a project becomes unusually high thereby making uncertain the prospects of profitable operations. On the other hand, use of furnance oil for generating power pushes up cost of production. Thus the profitability of an enterprise, having competitors in the market, demands extra-ordinary efforts from the management. On the other hand, inflationary pressure on prices tends to get out of hand. Under these circumstances, unless heavily subsidised and rebated, exports are difficulty to show growth and expansion.

The industries picked up by the government for the discontinuation of gas supplies for use as fuel, are cement factories and sugar mills. At present almost all the cement factories are operating in the public sector. They have either already switched over to the use of furnance oil for firing the kilns or are in the process of changeover. The entire operating cost of these units has been badly jolted. However, the government have extended subsidisation or what is described as reimbursement of extra cost of production so that these units might be enabled to maintain their profitability.

This support is understandably unavoidable. Losses in cement factories would not only tarnish the image of public-sector management but also the government would have to face greater complications if the state managed cement factories start accumulating losses. There is another alternative for the government to

take recourse to. This is about an increase in the retail price of cement. This step also appears to be inevitable. In the first place, the government cannot afford to lose revenues through regular reimbursements to cement factories, but also new cement factories in the private sector, which are under construction, are going to face the problem of cost and pricing after they go into production in the next couple of years.

Coming to sugar mills, most of them had enthusiastically installed equipment for using gas to heat boilers and this move was publicised as a step to economise cost of production. The clock is now forced to move backwards, and once again sugar mills are confronting the eventuality of discontinuation of gas supplies. Some of them have already been deprived of gas supplies in the current season and consequently, they have fallen back to burning of bagasse which is the main raw material for the manufacture of paper and chipboard.

In so far as the cost of production in a sugar mill is concerned, it is not likely to be affected to a significant extent. But the repercussions on paper and particle board industries which have been using bagasse as the main raw material, are going to be of a serious magnitude. If all the sugar mills start burning bagasse, there will be hardly any surplus available for use as raw material in paper and particle/chip board manufacturing units. It may be pointed out that quite a number of particle board manufacturing units have been established in different parts of the country on the basis of bagasse as raw material. Now, bagasse will be available to these units at the price of furnace oil. In addition to particle board industry, paper mills like Pakistan Paper Corporation depend heavily on the supply of bagasse. As to whether the paper mills and particle board manufacturing units are going to receive fatal shocks, is anybody's guess.

CSO: 4600/172



THREATS BY INDIAN LEADER CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Nov 83 p 3

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Nov 23--S. M. Zafar former Law Minister and General Secretary of defunct Muslim League, has cautioned the nation against the threats from Indira Gandhi and called for unity to meet any outside aggression.

In a Press statement here today, he said, the fallacy of Indira's arguments and the contradiction in her stand vis-a-vis Pakistan is more than apparent in her recent statement on Pakistan's re-entry into Commonwealth.

On the one hand she is restless on movement in Pakistan and makes that as a ground to speak about the internal affairs of Pakistan but when it comes to a country's admission into a club of sovereign nations, she picks up on the nature of Government to deny the right of 900 million people of Pakistan.

She has exposed herself to the public in Pakistan and her arguments run with hare and hunts with hounds.

Mr. Zafar said Pakistan need not be keen to join Commonwealth but it is a test of the other members of the Commonwealth and we in Pakistan would like to know if Indira has a veto in the matter or the will of the Commonwealth prevails.

"Again entry of Pakistan in Non-Aligned Movement was not resisted by Indira but she wants to play as the conscious keeper of Commonwealth.

The question is why at this time, actually Indira wants to paint Pakistan as a nation black so that her designs for some adventure may be facilitated. I hope all the concerned quarters in Pakistan will take notice of the future threat from Indira and get-to-gather to solve the internal problems to face outside aggression.

CSO: 4600/170



## RICE EXPORT: DETAILS DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Nov 83 Supplement pp 7, 8

[Text] Regular export of rice from Pakistan was started from 1958. Initially, only Basmati rice was exported, and the surplus of other varieties was shipped to the Eastern Wing of the country (now Bangladesh). After the separation of East Pakistan, export of rice of other varieties was also started.

Export of rice has all along been in the public sector. Upto 1974, sales of rice for export were made by the Trading Corporation of Pakistan (TCP), while procurement, cleaning, storage and shipment of rice was handled by the Director-General of Food of the Federal Government. In order to eliminate this dual control over exports of rice, which after the separation of East Pakistan had emerged as the single largest foreign exchange commodity of the country, the Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan Limited (RECP) was established in August, 1974, and all functions of TCP and D. G. Food, were transferred to RECP. This measure was designed to boost exports and foreign exchange earnings from rice by ensuring quality, packing and timely delivery according to highest international standards. This required massive investment in storage and cleaning/re-processing facilities which private sector could not arrange due to limitation of financial resources. Now RECP is the sole exporter of rice from Pakistan.

RECP purchases rice according to prescribed specifications from millers/dealers at prices and according to the targets fixed by the Federal Government. The field staff of RECP is stationed in the rice-growing areas of Punjab and Sind for spot acceptance of rice brought by rice suppliers to procurement centres. Payment is made to the suppliers immediately through the branches of nationalised banks close to procurement centres.

Immediately after procurement, rice is moved by rail/road to the godowns of RECP. Located in and around Karachi. Initially, RECP had a total storage capacity of 518,000 tonnes at Qasim Rice Godowns, Landhi, TPX and Keamari. Later, a project for construction of Binishell type godowns with additional storage capacity of 150,000 tonnes was implemented, raising the total storage capacity to 668,000 tonnes. Work is in progress for construction of 40,000 tonnes capacity godowns at seven places in the Punjab. In the 6th Five Years Plan, provision has been made for construction of additional storage capacity of 225,000 tonnes for proper storage of all the exportable surplus of rice, expected to be available by the end of the Plan Period.

To ensure quality of rice exported, RECP has set up modern cleaning and processing plants. RECP has inherited a cleaning and reprocessing capacity of 317,000 tonnes. Later, two locally manufactured plants and six German and Japanese plants with a capacity of 500,000 tonnes were installed. In addition, a packing unit for filling rice in one kilo packets, imported from Italy, was also commissioned. Work is also in progress on a scheme for establishment of parboiling plant with a capacity of 10 tonnes per hour. All rice stocks procured for export are processed in these plants for bringing them upto the standard required by different importing countries. Recently, RECP has also taken over Pakistan National Produce Company Limited and Doaba Rice Mills Ltd., which together owned eight modern rice mills. These mills have a combined capacity of producing over 100,000 tonnes of export quality rice per annum.

The two varieties of rice exported from Pakistan are Basmati (long-grain aromatic) and Irri-6 (also long-grain but non-aromatic). Basmati is exported mainly to the countries around Persian Gulf (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Iraq and Iran), while Irri-6 is exported to Dubai, Kuwait, Muscat, Turkey, Iran, Libya, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Senegal, Madagascar, Ivory Coast, Camaroun, Ghana, Angola, Comoro, Guinea, Mozambique, Brazil, Peru, Yugoslavia, etc. Broken rice, obtained in re-cleaning and processing of rice procured from growers/dealers, is also exported.

Basmati is offered for export with 10% brokens under the name of 'Basmati Pak-10' in double jute/hessian bags of 45 Kgs., 50 Kgs., and 90 Kgs., according to requirement of buyers. A consumer packing of one kilo cardboard packets of Basmati with maximum 4% brokens (20 packets packed in a cardboard carton) is also available for direct retail sale to consumers. Irri-6 rice is offered with different percentages of brokens, ranging from 5% to 45%, in packing of double jute/hessian bags of 45/50/90 kgs.

Although Pakistan Basmati rice was well-known in the international market, finding buyers for rice of other varieties (mainly Irri-6), immediately after the separation of East Pakistan, initially posed serious problems, due to the fact that these varieties were not well known., Besides, their milling and cleaning arrangements fell far short of international export standards. Strenuous efforts made by RECP to improve the image of other varieties of Pakistan rice have succeeded in establishing our Irri-6 rice in the world market.

For popularising Pakistani rice in other foreign markets, RECP adopted following measures:-

- i) Brochures setting out the special quality of Basmati were printed and distributed in different countries.
- ii) Samples were sent to various countries for carrying out cooking tests.
- iii) Delegations and sales missions were sent to importing countries to conduct market survey and make sales.
- iv) Government representatives from important importing countries were invited to Pakistan as guests of the Corporation in order to show to them the arrangements made for storage and cleaning of rice for export.

Rice Export Corporation of Pakistan Ltd.  
(Exports Division)

Figures of Procurement and Exports of Rice During the Years  
From 1974-75 Upto 1982-83 Are Furnished Below:-

Rice Procurement

|         | Quantity = Tonnes |         |          |           |
|---------|-------------------|---------|----------|-----------|
|         | Punjab            |         | Sind     | Total     |
|         | Basmati           | Other   | Other    |           |
| 1974-75 | 277,471           | 69,827  | 312, 333 | 659,631   |
| 1975-76 | 313,474           | 79,819  | 328,467  | 721,760   |
| 1976-77 | 198,245           | 134,337 | 213,178  | 644,760   |
| 1977-78 | 197,001           | 256,092 | 467,888  | 920,981   |
| 1978-79 | 399,100           | 317,620 | 527,890  | 1,244,610 |
| 1979-80 | 382,411           | 168,022 | 593,059  | 1,143,492 |
| 1980-81 | 320,933           | 65,037  | 639,466  | 1,025,436 |
| 1981-82 | 388,213           | 111,728 | 594,592  | 1,094,533 |
| 1982-83 | 337,482           | 145,469 | 744,107  | 1,227,058 |

v) Rice samples were supplied for display in food fairs and exhibitions abroad. Cooking demonstrations and sampling of cooked rice were also arranged, wherever possible.

vi) In addition to the above measures, steps have been taken by RECP for continued improvement in the milling and cleaning standards of Basmati rice, so that it can match the finest quality long-grain rice available from any other source in the World.

vii) As stated above, RECP has also entered into the field of export of rice in consumer packets of one kilos. For this purpose, a fully automatic Italian plant, with a capacity of 50 tonnes per day has been commissioned at Qasim Rice Godown. A quantity of over 26,000 tonnes Basmati has already been sold in these packets. The packets have been well received in the importing countries and demand for them is increasing.

Due to various measures adopted by RECP, mentioned above, exports of rice from Pakistan increased from 426,830 tonnes valued at U.S. \$209.47 million in 1974-75 to around a million tonnes, with a peak of 1,244,672 tonnes valued at U.S. \$563.99 million in 1980-81, showing an increase of 192% in quantity and of 169% in value. Pakistan now ranks amongst the four major rice-exporting countries of the world, along-with USA, Thailand and China. During 1978-79, rice exports from Pakistan for the first time exceeded one million tonne mark, of which about 200,000 tonnes was Basmati rice. An over-increasing number of rice importers from all over the world are now turning to Pakistan for supply of quality rice.

## Rice Exports

Quantity = Tonnes

Value = Million US \$

|         | Basmati | Other Varieties | Total   |        |           |        |
|---------|---------|-----------------|---------|--------|-----------|--------|
| Year    |         |                 |         |        |           |        |
| 1974-75 | 153,247 | 119,28          | 273,403 | 90.19  | 426,830   | 209.47 |
| 1975-76 | 236,461 | 124,08          | 536,480 | 98.59  | 762,941   | 222.67 |
| 1976-77 | 409,974 | 138.79          | 481,322 | 86.76  | 883,296   | 225.55 |
| 1977-78 | 246,613 | 111,25          | 556,737 | 129.10 | 803,350   | 240.35 |
| 1978-79 | 180,727 | 134.28          | 829,021 | 204.46 | 1,009,748 | 338.74 |
| 1979-80 | 314,880 | 225.07          | 771,794 | 196.80 | 1,086,674 | 421.87 |
| 1980-81 | 409,653 | 292.02          | 835,019 | 271.97 | 1,244,672 | 563.99 |
| 1981-82 | 261,808 | 188.84          | 689,278 | 205.27 | 951,086   | 394.11 |
| 1982-83 | 228,575 | 146.07          | 676,270 | 143.19 | 904,845   | 289.26 |
| 1983-84 | 82,837  | 50.55           | 279,030 | 58.85  | 361,867   | 109.40 |

(July-Oct.)

RECP sells rice, as far as possible, directly to foreign Governments or their nominated agencies, and to foreign rice importers. However, sales are also made to private local parties, if they are in a position to find foreign buyers at prices matching those paid by foreign importers. Prices are determined by inviting tenders. A regular watch is also kept on international rice prices. For this purpose, daily press reports on rice and important rice bulletins published in U.S.A., U.K. etc., are obtained. Sales are also made through negotiations with foreign Governments as well as trade houses through exchange of telexes/cables. The Corporation normally sells rice for delivery on FOB Karachi basis. Sales on C & F are also made, if desired by foreign Government organizations. The Corporation arranges rice shipments only against cash payment through foreign letters of credit.

In the matter of berthing and loading of rice vessels at the Karachi Port/Port Qasim, both in respect of FOB and C&F sales, the Corporation receives full cooperation from the authorities of the Karachi Port/Port Qasim. The State Bank, Customs and Plant Protection Department also extend their full cooperation to the Corporation in its task.

The National Logistics Cell also helps RECP in transportation of rice from procurement centres to Karachi as well as from its godowns to the Port Area, to ensure quick loading of rice loaders. Due to this assistance, delays at the Karachi Port/Port Qasim have been completely eliminated, and daily rates of loading of rice into vessels has almost doubled.

With the cooperation of all the concerned Provincial and Federal Government departments and other concerned agencies, RECP is confident of achieving its goal of maximising exports of rice at best possible prices obtainable from rice importers abroad.

MUSLIM LEAGUER SAYS ELECTIONS WITHOUT PARTIES 'TO END UP IN A MESS'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] PESHAWAR, Nov. 25--The Central Vice-President of the defunct PML (Pagara group), Syed Sibtul Hasan, has said that it was a matter of great concern and anxiety that President Zia seemed determined to hold the elections on non-party basis.

In a statement he said what difference would it make if the party holders were permitted to contest while on the other hand the government had no intention to revive the political parties and the political process in all probability was to remain stagnant. This stagnancy, he added will further increase provincialism and hatred which in turn will very seriously injure the very ideology of Pakistan as we shall be coming down from Muslim nationalism to individualism. Moreover, as desired by the government the candidates must be millionaires and without political backing. As such an educated middle man could not even think of contesting the polls.

He said that it was also not understandable that what will be the position of the duly elected individual having no manifesto, no political backing and no ideology. In these circumstances who will sit on the treasury benches and who will occupy the opposition benches and what will be the cost of the votes. He estimated that the situation arising out of the non-party basis elections would be a total mess. He, therefore, stressed that in the best interest of Pakistan it was incumbent on those in authority to bow to the popular demand and respect the national requirements, a lift ban on political activities and parties without any discrimination and announce the schedule of elections on party basis.

CSO: 4600/172



NWFP TEAM OUTLINES EFFORTS TO SECURE OVERSEAS PAKISTANIS' MONEY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Nov 83 p 6

[Text] PESHAWAR, Nov. 25--A bid programme backed by various incentives is proposed to be launched to attract investment from Pakistanis particularly from the Frontier Province working abroad and for this purpose a high powered team headed by Governor Fazle Haq is leaving on tour of the Gulf states.

Besides the Governor the team includes Senior NWFP Minister Arbab Mohammad Jehangir and its 10-day stay will cover Abu Dhagi, Dubai and Doha besides Saudi Arabia These are the areas where bulk of the Pakistanis are from the Frontier Province The forthcoming visit will be followup of an earlier visit last year by a three-member team led by Arbab Jehangir The team had detailed discussions with the Pakistanis there and on its return had submitted a report to the government on various issues concerning the overseas Pakistanis.

Official sources told The Muslim in Peshawar that besides explaining the fields where the people from Frontier abroad could profitably invest in this province, Governor Fazle Haq will discuss the difficulties being experienced by the Pakistanis on different accounts. These preliminaries, these sources added, will serve a two fold purpose On the one hand it would help accelerate the pace of economic development in this backward province and on the other provide a base for those returning to Pakistan on the expiry of their contracts abroad.

The team will be carrying a number of investment and incentive proposals with it. Leaving on Nov. 27, the team will return here on December 8.

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## COMMENTARY ON SCHOLAR'S 'DOOMSDAY SCENARIO' FOR PAKISTAN

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text]

WE have always paid lot of attention to what the foreign experts have to say about us. Economic field has been the one sphere where we have often turned to them for guidance. In other domains too they have their theories about us. As a matter of fact at times it appears that they have better assessment of our capabilities and potential, more firm grasp of our shortcomings and better solution to our problems.

It was only last Wednesday that Doctor Lawrence Ziring, one of the many American experts on this region's affairs, spoke with 'authority' on the problems facing us during the course of his lecture in Lahore. He had much to say on our internal situation and still more important he had enough to divulge on our foreign policy. His information was 'complete' and his arguments 'convincing'. As is so often the case Dr. Ziring like other foreign experts painted a rather bleak future for us.

It will be interesting to note that in the recent past Dr. Ziring wrote an article in which he had claimed that Pakistan would soon disappear from the map of the world - Afghanistan and Baluchistan becoming one country with greater Pakhtoonistan likely to come into being. He claimed that many of the developments he had predicted in the article (written before the Sind disturbances) had proved correct. Naturally the analysis of the malady which appears to know so much deserves a careful study.

Coming recently from Moscow whatever Dr. Ziring says has assumed an added significance. During his stay there, he must have felt the mood of the Soviets on issues like Afghanistan and their future strategy in the region. He was not hopeful about the Afghan issues's solution - saying Moscow was not sincere in the Geneva talks and was placing tough conditions for political settlement of the crisis. His despondency contrasted sharply with our optimism on the issue.

No less meaningful was his reading that the Kremlin thought that Pakistan was passing through a process of change which may ultimately go to Moscow's advantage. He appears to be attaching great importance to reports of some understanding reached between Bizenjo and Wali Khan. And by laying emphasis that the two leaders should be involved in any dialogue for the settlement of the crisis at home, Dr. Ziring has conveyed a lot.

We can hardly disagree with the American Professor's view that our internal problems are making things difficult for us in the Kremlin and New Delhi; and that with the crisis simmering on at home our negotiations with either the Soviet Union on troops pullout from Afghanistan or India on No-war Pact are least likely to take us any where. His apprehensions that we are making the same mistake as we did in case of East Pakistan tragedy is also shared by many. His cry that the time was running out has added to the anxiety of the people here.

It is significant to note that Dr. Ziring is seeing danger to Pakistan from its Western frontiers. Nowhere

during his long lecture he mentioned India as the possible source of trouble for Pakistan. It is the Afghan issue that has now started unfolding itself with all its multi-dimensional implications. The United States, towards whom Pakistan has mainly looked for solution of the crisis, according to Dr. Ziring finds progress difficult unless the internal situation in Pakistan improves. There appears to be quite a re-thinking in the Capitol Hill on the issue. After all the fears that Pakistan may be left in the lurch in the matter, may not prove all that unfounded.

### AYUB'S ERA

Mr. Altaf Gauhar's revelations of the Ayub era are sensational. They give an idea of what goes on behind the iron curtain of dictatorial regimes. A nation's destiny is gambled without its knowledge and when the curtain is finally lifted, it is often too late for any remedial measures.

Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi's suggestion to Ayub Khan to establish a monarchy in Pakistan was an outrageous one. But nothing better could have been expected from a man who was a political adventurer.

Unfortunately at very early stage the nation's destiny slipped into the hands of the bureaucracy. Ghulam Mohammad and Sikandar Mirza were the two bureaucrats who almost wielded absolute powers. Ghulam Mohammad behaved worst than a despot. It was more due to their whimsical rule than anything else which pushed us off the track of democratic rule. Ayub Khan was the product of their intrigues.

No less shocking were the views of Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan and Manzur Qadir about the capabilities and potentials of the nation. Regrettably, the nation which had so wisely and prudently exercised its right of franchise in the stormy

pre-partition days was now thought unfit for a democratic set-up. The illiterate and ignorant masses" (the expression usually used by self-proclaimed intellectuals) who had surprised their critics by their collective wisdom were now thought no more capable than electing, whom Sir Zafarullah described as demagogues and mob creators as their leaders. Manzur Qadir had nothing better to say. He found political parties least serving the nation's interest. This was the view of a man who had witnessed the creation of Pakistan by a political party, the Muslim League. What made him think that a political party's role ceases after the creation of a country.

Now Sir Zafarullah and Manzur Qadir might be gifted men but most of the laurels and eminence which came in their way in life was due to the miracle performed by the nation. Minus Pakistan they would have lived and expired as perhaps, ordinary men.

No less significant was Justice Shahabuddin's Report (he headed the Commission set up by Ayub Khan) endorsing Ghulam Mohammad's decision of dismissing the Khawaja Nazimuddin Ministry. Much has already been said on this episode. Suffice it is to say here that verdict has always gone in favour of those who have been at the helm of affairs.

Ayub Khan and most of his associates have left this world. Some like Altaf Gauhar have lived to tell the tale of the days gone by. But none has taken the responsibility for the storms that have continued to rage on ever since then. We have paid the price for lacking faith in the nation's wisdom in managing its affairs. So let us not be scared of the 'demagogues and mob orators'. If the nation is behind them they will perform far better than those 'custodians' of the nation's destiny who do not enjoy people's confidence.

PUNJAB COTTON CROP SAID 35 PERCENT DAMAGED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] LAHORE, Nov. 25--The cotton crop in Punjab has been damaged to the extent of 35 per cent due to heavy rains in the first week of September and pest attack.

According to the official sources a team of experts had conducted a preliminary survey of the cotton crop in the province to assess the fall in production and its causes.

The survey report received that this year 40 lakh acres area had come under cotton cultivation and adequate quantity of good quality certified seed of the recommended varieties was made available to the farmers through public and private sectors agencies.

All types of fertilizers remained available in adequate quantities throughout the province and there was no problem of irrigation water.

The report further said that adequate quantities of pesticide was also made available at different sales points through private sector network. Arrangements for availability of sprayers were reported better than last season.

According to the rough estimates consumption of pesticides during current season had gone up by about 70 per cent.

As regards causes for low yield inspite of above factors, the report said, the analysis of data reveals that the main and perhaps the only reason for fall in yield was excessive rainfall during this crop season in 1983. 373 millimeters rain was received as compared with 99.8 millimeters received during corresponding period of last season. This rain was intermittent and was spread over almost the entire cotton season.

In the initial stages of crop a fairly large area had to be replanted and some of the fields with young seedling were spoiled by stagnation of water. The extent of such damaged area was high as 20 per cent.

Although final estimates are yet to be worked out, it appears that damage may go to the extent of 35 per cent the report observed.

## BRIEFS

LEADER'S DETENTION EXTENDED--ATTOCK, Nov. 20--The detention period of Khwaja Mohammad Sai, a leader of the defunct Qaumi Mahaz-e-Azadi being detained in Attock District jail under Martial Law orders has been further extended for three months. [Excerpt] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Nov 83 p 6]

NON-PARTY ELECTIONS OPPOSED--LAHORE, Nov. 20--Iqbal Haider acting chairman of the outlawed Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, has vehemently opposed elections on a non-party basis and the Aug. 12 announcement. He described them as "yet another move by the regime to perpetuate itself in office". Talking to newsmen here, Iqbal Haider said any political party contesting elections on a non-party basis or on the basis of the Aug. 12 announcement would be negating its own entity. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Nov 83 p 6]

MRD ELECTION ALLIANCE SUGGESTED--LAHORE, Nov. 20--The Punjab branch of the defunct Pakistan Democratic Party has pleaded for turning the MRD into an election alliance, saying this would make the alliance more organised. A meeting of the provincial branch chaired by Jehangir Ashraf Vance resolved to oppose non-party elections, which were described as "a dangerous proposal aimed at hitting at the very foundations of national unity and integrity". The resolution urged elections under the 1973 Constitution and rules as they stood in July 1977. It also opposed the holding of provincial elections before national polls. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Nov 83 p 6]

CALL TO OPEN CAMPUS--LAHORE, Nov. 20--Acting President People's Students Federation Punjab Javeed Haider Awan and Mohammad Asghar Dozer Chairman P.S.F. Engineering University have demanded opening of Multan campus of the university. At a Press conference here yesterday the student leaders expressed concern over the delaying the opening of the campus which was resulting in a very high merit list and many of the first divisioners were being denied admission due to a limited number of seats at Lahore. They added that nation's talent was being wasted in this manner. The decision to open a campus at Multan and Taxila was taken by the previous government. Taxila campus started working earlier and about 800 students are studying there now, while future of Multan campus is still very uncertain. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 21 Nov 83 p 6]

PESHAWAR MUNICIPAL CORPORATION SUSPENDED--PESHAWAR, Nov 21--The NWFP Government today suspended the Peshawar Municipal Corporation in the wake of



persistent grouping and disruption ever since its elections in September last Press Note issued here tonight said. An Administrator will henceforth look after the affairs of the Corporation. The Press Note said that the government was constrained to take this action in order to end the state of uncertainty acrimony and disruption, which had plagued the civic body, resulting in growing sense of dismay among the citizens of Peshawar. The action has been taken under the Local Bodies Ordinance, 1979. The Press Note said: 'The Peshawar Municipal Corporation plunged into grouping and disruption, immediately after its elections. Gradual deterioration of the situation not only frustrated all efforts of improvement but also blocked all avenues of success in this behalf. [Excerpt] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Nov 83 p 1]

BENAZIR ALLOWED VISITS BY SISTER--KARACHI, Nov. 21--Miss Sanam Nasir, the younger daughter of the Late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, has been allowed to see her detained sister Miss Benazir Bhutto five times a week. Previously she had to go through a cumbersome process of applying to the Home Department for permission every time she wanted to visit her sister. It may be mentioned that Miss Benazir, now detained for the last two and a half years, is suffering with some ear ailment and is under treatment of an ENT specialist Dr. Imdad Baloch. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Nov 83 p 1]

NOORANI ON MRD STRUGGLE--HYDERABAD, Nov. 21--JUP leader Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani said that MRD is justified to carry on struggle for restoration of democracy and 1973 Constitution in the country. He was addressing the crowds at the residence of Noor Ahmed Shah and Sayed Rasheed Shah advocate at Nawabshah today. He said that the sacrifices given by people of Sind to "save Pakistan" will be written in golden words in the history of Pakistan. He said that he fully supports the MRD movement therefore he has started mass contact tour of Sind. He was accompanied with 11 members of Sind Itihad Board which has been newly formed at Karachi by the leaders of new Sindhis. They all latter on left for Hata. At Nawabshah they were given warm welcome. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Nov 83 p 6]

BENAZIR BHUTTO EXAMINED--KARACHI, Nov. 22--Miss Benazir Bhutto was admitted for a few hours here today to the Mid-East Medical Centre for a thorough examination of her ear and nose trouble. She was brought from her residence to the Centre under a heavy police escort at about 12.30 p.m. and taken back at about 5.30 p.m. According to the hospital sources about 15 X-Rays of her ear and nose from different angles were taken. According to the sources some puss had formed in the ear and nose which caused her severe pain. It was cleaned in the operation theatre under the supervision of her physician Dr. Imdad Baluch. Although the Press people had assembled in the hospital but due to heavy security arrangements none of them was allowed anywhere near her. Her sister Mrs. Sanam Nasir was all along with her in the hospital. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 83 p 6]

NOORANI BACK FROM SIND TOUR--KARACHI, Nov. 22--The delegation led by Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani has returned to the city after four days tour of the interior of the province. Maulana Noorani will address a Press conference here tomorrow to apprise the Press of his findings during the tour. It may be mentioned that the Maulana along with Shah Faridul Haq, Mehmoodul Haq Usmani,

Haroon Ahmed and Aziz Ahmed Khan had left for the interior on Saturday last. The delegation during its four-day stay visited New Jatoi, Sakrand, Lakhat Jatoi, Moro, Nawabshah, Halal, Qazi Ahmed and Bhitshah. The Maulana met the affected people and the family members of those who have been killed during the recent disturbances. He also addressed public meetings in these places in support of the cause of the people of Sind. The Maulana also laid a floral wreath at the shrine of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai. Talking to this correspondent here today he said, the purpose of the visit was to express solidarity with the struggle of the people in Sind. "By the grace of God we have been able to fulfil the purpose", he added. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 83 p 6]

TALKS WITH GOVERNMENT RULED OUT--KARACHI, Nov. 22--Mushir Ahmed Pesh Imam, Secretary General of Tehrik Istiqlal (defunct) has ruled out the possibility of any negotiation or talks with the government on behalf of his party at this stage. He said the first thing the government must do is to immediately release all detained leaders unconditionally and revive political activities. Only then could talks be considered, he stressed. Talking to 'The Muslim' here yesterday, he said the issue now before the nation was the revival of democracy so as to save it from the dangers caused by six years of martial law. He said if government was at all serious about resolving the present problems, it should release the detained political leaders and workers so that a congenial atmosphere could be created. "Beating about the bush will further complicate matters", he warned. Mr. Imam has returned to the city after more than two months abroad. Immediately after his return, he was served with an order banning his entry into the Punjab for three months. "How can you believe that the government really wants some solution to the problems in conditions like this?" he asked. He avoided questions related to political issues. "Unless I discuss things with my colleagues and other political leaders, I can't say anything", he said. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 83 p 6]

NON-PARTY ELECTIONS OPPOSED--LAHORE, Nov. 22--The President People's Party Punjab Malik Qayyum has said that holding of elections on party basis and immediate transfer of power have become unanimous demands of the whole nation and any deviation from it will amount to insulating peoples aspirations. In a statement issued here he said that people elected on no-party basis will not be bound by any discipline, programme or manifesto and will give top priority to their interests. Such elections may serve the interests of bureaucracy the present regime but not the masses, he added. Malik Qayyum said that provincial assembly polls prior to that of the national assembly besides creating further complications may prove detrimental to the country's integrity and intensify the present political crisis. He said patriotism demanded holding of both the elections at the same time. Commenting on the disobedience movement, he said, it was a sign of success for MRD that parties outside its fold were also supporting the programme. He mentioned Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) in this context and said MRD workers had great respect for Maulana Noorani's party which has launched its practical struggle now. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 83 p 6]

GHEE PRICES RISE--ISLAMABAD, Nov. 24--The Government has decided to increase the price of vegetable ghee by Rs. 2.80 per Kg. according to a Press Note issued here today, by the Ministry of Industries. Following is the text of Press Note: The price of vegetable ghee has been increased by Rs. 2.80 per Kg. with immediate effect. The prices of various packs are as follows: 16 K.g. pack Rs. 216.00; 5 k.g. pack Rs. 69.95; 2.5 k.g. pack Rs. 35.55; 1 k.g. (loose) Rs. 13.50. This decision has been taken because the prices of soyabean and palm oil have gone up in the international market by more than 100 per cent. If the prices of vegetable ghee have not been increased, then the deficit in the budget would have gone up by Rs. 4000 million. It has been decided that the whole burden should not be passed on the consumers but may be shared by the consumers and the government. Therefore, the price has only increased by Rs. 2.80 per K.g. Even now the deficit to the government will be about Rs. 1000 million. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 p 1]

PAKISTAN, NORWAY SIGN AGREEMENT--ISLAMABAD, Nov. 24--Under an agreement signed here today, Norway will provide Pakistan about Rs. 80 million worth of triple-super phosphate fertilizer and approximately Rs. 66 million worth of tele-communication and power transmission equipment for WAPDA as a part of Norwegian grant of 85 million kroners equivalent to Rs. 170 million for the year 1984. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 p 3]

TALKS WITH MRD RULED OUT--LAHORE, Nov. 24--In an explanatory statement issued here today Choudhry Mohamad Tufail, Acting Secretary General, Tehrik-e-Istiq-lal Punjab has denied that MRD ever considered abandoning courting of arrest campaign. He also ruled out the possibility of any parleys between the MRD and government and said such an offer, if made, will not be welcomed until their four-point demands were accepted. He said some news items in press had given such an impression while reporting Press conference of T. I. Punjab's acting chairman Mehr Rafiq. He said Tehrik could never take any step without consulting other components of MRD. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 p 6]

POLICE OFFICIALS HANGED--MULTAN, Nov. 22--Three Police officials including ex-Sub-Inspector Amir Khan Niazi, ex-Assistant Sub-Inspector Ghulam Rasool and ex-Head Constable Zaman Khan Niazi of CIA staff, Lodhran, were hanged to death at District jails of Mianwali and Sahiwal early this morning for torturing Bilal-Watto to death. According to details CIA police of Lodhran held a youth Bilal-Watto as a suspect of theft. During interrogation Police used third-degree torture following which he succumbed to injuries. Later policemen brought his corpse to Mailsi where they crushed his body under the wheels of a jeep to conceal their crime. When the citizen of Lodhran came to know about it they went on strike and staged a demonstration. Consequently the SSP, Multan, got registered a case against CIA staff. A special military court, Multan, awarded them death sentence on charge of murder. President Ziaul Haq had rejected their clemency appeal. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 83 p 8]

NOTE DENIES DEATH FIGURES--KARACHI, Nov. 24--The attention of government has been drawn to the statement of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani as reported in a section of the Press wherein the loss of life during the disturbances in the interior of Sind has been mentioned as 508 persons. A spokesman of the Home Department has termed the figure as highly exaggerated. The overall position has already been explained by the Federal Interior Minister on Nov. 10, during the debate of Majlis-e-Shoora. As far as Sind is concerned the total number of persons killed including members of law enforcing agencies is 54. The number of those injured is 220 which includes 56 members of the law enforcing agencies. It is worth noting that about 20 per cent of those killed and about 44 per cent of those injured belong to the law enforcing agencies. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 25 Nov 83 p 8]

CLARIFICATION ON PARTY SYSTEM--KARACHI, Nov. 25--Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, former member, Council of Islamic Ideology, has said that the Council never and at no stage during the period from September, 1977 to mid-July 1983 had supported or recommended party-system or party based elections for Muslims in an Islamic state. In a statement issued here today he said there seems to be misconception on a considerable scale in regard to the stand of the Islamic Ideology Council vis-a-vis party system or party based elections among Muslims in an Islamic state. He hoped his statement would remove confusion on this issue. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 26 Nov 83 p 1]

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